STATISTICAL VISIONS OF HUMANITY: TOWARD A GENEALOGY OF LIBERAL GOVERNANCE IN MODERN JAPAN

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Akiko Ishii
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STATISTICAL VISIONS OF HUMANITY: TOWARD A GENEALOGY OF LIBERAL GOVERNANCE IN MODERN JAPAN

Akiko Ishii, Ph. D.
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This dissertation seeks to shed new light on the history of liberal governance in Japan and its overseas territories, primarily colonial Taiwan, from the late Tokugawa period to the wartime periods. It does so by examining the emergence and spread of the statistical concept of population in bureaucratic, social scientific, and literary texts. As a statistical artifact, the idea of population endorsed the “scientific” nature of social science, and determined what was and was not scientific—and, therefore, "rational"—government. In particular, the statistical regularity of population led social scientists and policy experts in Japan and colonial Taiwan to perceive the limits of coercive governance, suggesting new ways of controlling human collectivities in the territories. This dissertation traces the formation and transformation of such a concept of population from the arrival of Western statistics in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century to the era in which the concept of population became a core notion in the economic and social welfare thought of wartime Japan. It argues that the modern concept of population offered a specific way of understanding social relations in the particular historical juncture between Western and Japanese imperialisms. Eventually, it became a

crucial element of liberal governance, characterized by an approach that was anti-state control yet interventionist, and represented itself as a quasi-universal reference point in economic rationality in the twentieth century. Indeed, it continues to do so, today.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Tokyo, Japan, Akiko Ishii studied sociology and philosophy at Konan University in Kobe. She studied political philosophy and theory, particularly the philosophy of Hannah Arendt, at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and received her master's degree in 2005. At Cornell, Ishii received her M.A. in 2008 and Ph.D. in 2013, specializing in modern Japanese history, with a primary focus on intellectual history of modern Japan.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family.

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Introduction

In *The Human Condition,* political theorist Hannah Arendt analyzes the way in which the necessities of human life gradually came into political discourse and became a fundamental rationality in modern politics. She affirms this as a specifically modern phenomenon through describing the influx of what were considered for a long time to be concerns of physical life and, thus, private—family, body, health, and labor for sustaining life—into the public sphere, and calls this "the rise of the social." When the care for life, in the sense of well-being, preoccupies politics, Arendt believed, the dignity of human action and its singularity in history will lose its meaning, and statistically processible mass behavior will be considered to have greater relevance to the world. Social science—particularly modern economics, according to Arendt—was itself grounded in this shift:

> [T]he assumption that men behave and do not act with respect to each other, that lies at the root of modern science of economics, whose birth coincided with the rise of society and which, together with its chief technical tool, statistics became the social science per excellence.[1]

In introducing this distinction between action and behavior, she emphasizes that, as soon as concerns for life came to gain top priority in politics, statistical thinking became the most useful framework for understanding human nature.[2]

About twenty years after the publication of *The Human Condition*,

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[1] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 41-42.
[2] Arendt, The Human Condition, 42-43.

philosopher Michel Foucault, without referring to Arendt, pointed out that the collective of human beings as a species and individuals as living bodies emerged on the stage of modern politics and became an object of governance. He names this phenomenon "bio-politics." More precisely, Foucault argues that collective human life, which he often calls "species" and "population," and individual lives mutually articulate each other, and have transformed the system of reasoning in politics:[3]

> Wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity.[4]

> On the one hand, it was tied to the disciplines of the body: the harnessing, intensification, and distribution of forces, the adjustment and economy of energies. On the other hand, it was applied to the regulation of populations, through all the far-reaching effects of its activity. It fitted in both categories at once, giving rise to infinitesimal surveillances, permanent controls, extremely meticulous orderings of space, indeterminate medical or psychological examinations, to an entire micro-power concerned with the body. But it gave rise as well to comprehensive measures, statistical assessments, and interventions aimed at the entire social body or at groups taken as a whole.[5]

Foucault asserts that two forms of power over life have developed since the seventeenth century: "Discipline of the body" and "regulation of population." Arendt associates the emergence of statistical concern with human collectivity as "mass" and individual's "behavior" as a component of mass phenomena with the eighteenth century economist Adam Smith, and, particularly, his theorization of

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[3] Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality* vol. 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 140.
[4] Foucault, *History of sexuality*, 137.
[5] Foucault, *History of sexuality*, 145-146.

the invisible hand. Both thinkers seem to agree that the entry into politics of man as an embodied and living being is one of the central issues of our time. It signifies not only a shift in the language of politics, but a huge change in our way of understanding life and the ways in which our own lives interact with others'.

In order to analyze the nature of such a transformation, Foucault elaborates on the notion of "government." He does not use this term to indicate government merely as an institution, nor simply as state control of people:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests, and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.[6]

Government, in this sense, refers to all kinds of activities which form conduct not only between state and individuals but between individuals, and in one's own relation to oneself. Foucault particularly looks into the emergence of the biological entity, which he often articulates as "species" and "population," in relation to government, and argues that this is what constitutes modernity within governance, and which conditions our lives, even today.

This dissertation examines the manner in which this peculiar modernity appeared in nineteenth-century Japan, and its political implications. How can the

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[6] In "The subject and power," Foucault also describes the usage of the word in the sixteenth century in order to show its diverse implications. "'Government' did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather it designated the way in which the conduct of individual or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communications, of families, of the sick…. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others." Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 221.

politics of population be a sign of modernity? Certainly, the historical record tells us that there were population surveys even in ancient Greece, as well as in Japan in the Nara period (710-784). However, as briefly discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation, in the case of Japan, population surveys were grounded in social status and the premodern conception of the house-hold, and the practice of counting people or residents in general did not commence until the early modern period. Therefore, one of the primary questions asked by this dissertation involves how such an idea came into discussions of governance, along with how other global and local phenomena—knowledge of statistics, recognition of a new international order, the disappearance of the premodern worldview, the capability to undertake large-scale social surveys, and, above all, colonialism—facilitated the emergence of this new vision in governance.

More specifically, this dissertation centers on the function of statistical thinking, which enables intellectuals and social policy experts to conceive of population, and of individuals as a component of population, and to substantiate such a conception with statistical data. Historians in various fields have written the history of statistics, and there are two streams of thought.[7] First, the work of Theodore Porter and Ian Hacking traces the development of statistical methods and models, such as the establishment of the concept of probability, showing how

[7] See for example, Theodore Porter, *Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); J. Adam Tooze, *Statistics and the German State: The Making of Modern Economic Knowledge* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Alain Desrosière, The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998).

new findings in statistics opened up a new way of understanding social phenomena.[8] These studies certainly inspired this dissertation. However, while each chapter includes an explanation for the role of statistics and quantitative methods in understanding collective human life, this dissertation does not view statistics as the basis for all of the epistemological changes that occurred in this period.

Second, as is seen in Joan Scott's work, for example, there is a direction that reveals that politics exist behind the category-making processes in statistical surveys and the arbitrary readings of statistical data. Scholarship of this kind stresses that various analytical categories of social phenomena, such as "middle-class," "prostitute," or "skilled-worker," are indeed constructed through the making and reading of statistical data. Although this dissertation is not particularly concerned with specific statistical data—i.e., numbers and tables—it will suggest how statistical thinking came into political discussion, and how it justified a peculiar view of human life and policymaking based upon statistics.

Among the various characteristics of population as an object of governance, statistical regularity and mutability are particularly important in the development of population as an object of empirical study, and are, therefore, significant. Statistical regularity has been observed, for example, in birth and death rates, morbidity rates, and crime and suicide rates. The mutability of population has been expressed through socio-cultural and biological practices such as nutrition

[8] Porter, *Rise of Statistical Thinking* and Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

management, disease control, and eugenics, which have been considered tools for the quality control of population.

My project aims at describing the process by which social scientists gradually discovered such multiple characteristics of population, one by one, as indicators of the "nature" of society. Therefore, it is not an intellectual history of the word "population," in which the transformation of the meaning of the word is traced and described. However frequently my object of study is associated with "population," the word and its changes in meaning are not the point. Rather, whether it has been called "population," "nation," or "society," my study looks for a coherent social scientific entity that contains, through socio-cultural and biological practices, specific characteristics such as statistical regularity and mutability.

Population as an object of governance requires a very specific attitude and technology for those who hope to manipulate it. First, since population, itself, is not a juridical entity, experts must find ways to manipulate various factors within it; thus, the individual is re-discovered and re-defined as a component of population. Second, it is necessary to establish large-scale surveys such as a census or a comprehensive registration system of residents, and to continue to keep records in order to capture correct figures for population over time. Third, collected data does not necessarily have to serve a particular predetermined purpose, but data are always transferable to another project, even if the new project serves a different purpose.

These are merely the beginnings of the list concerning the peculiarity of population as an object of government; however, in considering these factors as the basis of the modern administrative state, this dissertation will argue that this object of governance has had a relatively strong affinity with modern liberal governance. Thus, describing the development of the social scientific entity called population in Japan also means tracing the genealogy of liberal governance in Japan. Japanese intellectuals, who were experiencing drastic epistemological changes concerning the vision of social relations, understood all of these peculiar characteristics associated with population as signs of modernity. Willingly or unwillingly, they had to embrace them, because statistical thinking provided them with a model through which they could explain, using scientific terms, the new social relations that were appearing following the dissolution of the feudal vision.

A tremendous amount of research has been conducted concerning the representation of relationships between various collective identities and the individual in the modern world. The entire research tradition of nationalism, for example, belongs to this field of study.[9] Scholars have identified and explicated various logical structures within nationalist ideologies, and analyzed images of gender and race in order to reveal explicit and implicit biases within societies and their institutions.

In other words, we have inherited from previous scholars a heavy accumulation of research regarding how people have imagined themselves and

[9] For example, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised edition) (New York: Verso, 1991), 164-170.

others. Representations of “us” and “them” have been criticized for their discriminatory, exclusive natures, and have constantly morphed into different forms over the course of history; but, however clichéd they become, such representations, have not, so far, faded away. My contribution to this research tradition in the humanities is to detect the point at which social scientific thinking endorses such collective representations of identity through a seemingly objective entity called "population," and to problematize the political nature of this purportedly neutral object of study.

More specifically, what this dissertation hypothesizes in the context of modern Japanese history is that the figures of population and the individual that have been derived from statistical thinking have contained a specific political implication. Although the conventional view holds that the totalitarian tendency in Japanese politics exceeded its liberal and individualistic momentum, through tracing figures of population and the individual, this dissertation emphasizes continuity, showing that it is possible to see that a stream of “liberal” thought has existed continuously since the early Meiji period.

Thus, this dissertation examines the ways in which the concept of "population" gradually emerged after statistical knowledge arrived in Japan in the nineteenth century. It asks how such a concept enabled social scientists and policy experts to think about human collectivity in a specific way that allowed them to effectively manipulate certain aspects of society without violating the rules of modern liberal governance. By closely examining the intertwined relationships

between the spread of statistical thinking and the consolidation of the post-feudal and modern view of social relations in Japan, this dissertation attempts to offer a historical account of how the epistemological pre-conditions for liberal governance first appeared in modern Japan.

We can catch a glimpse of the result of such statistical thinking in a talk delivered by demographer Tachi Minoru to social policy experts in Tokyo in 1942, when Japan was in the middle of the Pacific War:

> Population, which concretely lives as a member of the state and the nation on a piece of land, has a great impact on the development of the state and the nation not only with its quantity but through its quality. Also, population that lives its life in such a way expresses, in its simple numbers, all natural, social and economic conditions [under which it is living]. Moreover, population appearing in this way has, at the same time, an important influence on the long-term future of the society. [10]

In this talk, in setting appropriate social conditions for population and treating it as one of the fundamental factors on which their nation's future depended, Tachi urges social policy experts to posit population at the core of their strategic thinking for winning the ongoing war. From industrial productivity and material distribution to the numbers and quality of soldiers, it seems that there was no aspect of the society that could be free from the concept of population at that time.

Needless to say, what motivated Tachi and other policy experts to seriously consider population as the basis of their country was set within a specific historical context, namely, the Pacific War. However, it can be said that we

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[10] Tachi Minoru, *Jinkoron Setsuwa* [Reconsidering population theory] (Tokyo: Hanyo sha, 1943), 12.

continue to share a basic understanding of population in the twenty-first century with these Japanese social policy experts nearly seventy years ago. Population as an entity to be controlled is deeply rooted in the social scientific thinking we use to understand our collective life today.

Chapter Descriptions

Chapters are arranged thematically, roughly in chronological order.

Chapter 1: "Statistics and a New Vision of Humanity" deals with the writings of early statisticians and intellectuals in Japan who had a great interest in statistics. After the encounter with western countries, the dissolution of feudal modes of human relations, which were based on Confucianism and conventional morality, became evident; and intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi were anxious to spread the idea of the nation, underpinned by formal equality among the people, in Meiji Japan. Therefore, these intellectuals quickly understood that a statistical understanding of people would become one of the dominant modes of understanding in the new era. This chapter shows how the statistical understanding of human collectivity emerged as a new way of knowing society, and how the statistical regularity intrinsic to population was understood as analogous to the law of nature.

Chapter 2: " Statistics and the Location of Hygiene" analyzes the construction of the concept of hygiene as observed from the 1880s to the 1890s. Through close reading of texts by hygiene specialists, such as Mori Rintaro,

Nagayo Sensai, and Goto Shinpei, this chapter examine the broad scope of hygiene in the Meiji period. It argues that the discourse of hygiene was a significant site in defining an ideal form of governance under the new constitution. It intends to trace, through the discourse of hygiene, the further articulation of the new way of understanding people, namely the modern vision of the whole and the individual discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 3: "Policing the Colony" examines discussions concerning census-making among statisticians and bureaucrats. Japan's first census was scheduled in 1905 in almost all territories within Japan's empire. However, due to financial difficulties caused by the Russo-Japanese war, it was postponed indefinitely, with one exception: colonial Taiwan. Through analyzing the process by which the census was developed in colonial Taiwan, this chapter analyzes how the project of the census was tied to the concept of *polizei*.

Chapter 4: "The Concept of Human Resources and the Creation of the 'Functional Man'" centers upon the concept of human resources, which wartime social scientists developed in wartime Japan. It was developed as a disciplinary field called "social policy," which had been a growing since the 1890s, through which, in particular, social scientists attempted to overcome a broad range of social problems caused by the development of capitalism. Through a close reading of Okochi Kazuo's writings in the late 1930s and early 1940s, this chapter demonstrates that the figure of the "functional man" was nothing other than the representation of a component of statistically understood population.

Overall, each chapter describes the emergence of a historically new understanding of human collectivity and the historical conditions and/or contingencies that enabled people—scholars, intellectuals, bureaucrats, and social activists—to have such a vision concerning relationships between population and the individual.

Chapter 1:

Statistics and a New Vision of Humanity:

Politics of Population in Meiji Japan

In the year of 1798, two intellectuals, living in the two of the world's largest cities, expressed similar anxieties concerning population growth and its impact on the future. In London, with a population of one million, making it the second largest city in the world, Thomas Robert Malthus, a 32-year-old Anglican Church curate, published the first edition of *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. The text opens with two postulates about the nature of human beings: the necessity of food and the existence of sexual desire.[1] Based on these seemingly universal laws of humanity, he developed an idea later much discussed and criticized: "Population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio."[2] Because of this inequality between population and the resources necessary to sustain it, Malthus argued, a shortage of subsistence was inevitable, and there would be no way to avoid such a daunting future for humanity if humans failed to control the increase of population.

In the same year, in Edo, the capital of Japan, with a population of 1.2 million, perhaps the largest city in the world, a political economist, Honda

[1] Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. Geoffrey Gilbert (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12.
[2] Malthus, *Principle of Population*, 13

Toshiaki, expressed an ominous view of the relationship between the increase of population and development of material production in Japan:

> [Assume that] a husband at the age of fifteen and a wife at the age of thirteen give birth to their first baby, that they do so every two years, and that the wife's menopause comes thirty three years later…. This means that four people in two couples produce seventy-nine offspring in total [in the course of three generations.] Divide this number by four—the number of initial couples and their parents—so that we get 19.75 for the increase per person in 33 years. This law is applicable from the emperor to ordinary people. If we do not expand Japan 19.75 times, Japan's industry will not be sufficient [to sustain their lives].[3]

Although Honda's extreme estimation seems unrealistic, and should be seen as hyperbolic, just as Malthus assumed humans' "passion" to be unchangeable, Honda posited a natural law (天則) of increase in population, which humans cannot change. Honda, thus, insisted that there must be always material shortages, and that material production must be expanded in order to support population.[4]

There are interesting agreements and disagreements between these two theories, particularly given their curious similarity and simultaneity. To be sure, Honda might have shared a basic intellectual background with Malthus because, after the Tokugawa government lifted the ban on the study of Western science in the late-eighteenth century, Honda had contact with Japanese Dutch scholars, such as Shiba Kokan and Yamamura Saisuke. Nevertheless, Honda did not have access to Malthus' work, let alone direct communication with him. Considering

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[3] Honda Toshiaki, *Saiiki Monogatari* [Tales of the West] vol. 3 in *Honda Toshiaki Kaiho Seiryo* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), 146-147.
[4] Honda, *Saiiki Monogatari*, 146-147.

that they lived in two of most populated cities in the world at the end of eighteenth century, it is reasonable to say that they arrived at similar viewpoints because they faced similar and simultaneous problems in their societies.

Far more interesting than the surface similarity might be the disagreement. In order to solve its own population problem, Honda insisted that Japan should adapt the "European style of governance," that is, the establishment of foreign colonies and increasing international trade. He urged:

> Generally, the first step of European rule is to establish the strength of the state through opening trade and developing colonies. Therefore, when Europeans thoroughly search all lands under the sky and encounter people who have a barbarian king, they rule such people with benevolence and enlighten them. When discovering uninhabited land, they disseminate people. Europeans always weigh advantages and disadvantages regarding everything, and they pay attention to all details of things. That is why their states are thriving.[5]

Born in 1743, and having studied mathematics, astronomy, and geology in Edo, and developed his career in economic thought along with the emerging tide of Dutch studies in Japan, Honda was keenly aware of European colonial competition in the world. Thus, it made sense for him to urge Japan to pursue the path of imperialism and colonialism as a means of solving its population problem.

Malthus, on the other hand, did not see colonization as a solution for the population problem in the metropole. Examining the case of colonies in North America, he concluded that seeking new colonies would not be a sufficient

[5] Honda, *Saiiki Monogatari*, 112.

solution, because increases in population were more rapid in colonies. Instead of seeking more colonization, he analyzed two kinds of processes by which population could be limited: one was, in his words, "positive restraint," by which he meant famine and war, which directly increase mortality, and the other, "preventive restraint," by which he meant various kinds of intentional strategies to decrease birth rates, such as strategically delaying marriage and limiting numbers of children. However, he thought that both processes would have negative effects. "Positive restraint," needless to say, meant pain and misery, while "preventive restraint," he believed, would merely lead to "irregular" and "immoral" satisfaction of sexual desire.

Despite such a pessimistic view of the unchangeable nature of human "passion," Malthus sought ways to control population via social policy concerning the lives of individuals, in particular, the poor. His criticism of ideas and institutions for the relief for the poor characterized his approach to population problems:

> If men are induced to marry from a prospect of parish provision with little or no chance of maintaining their families in independence, they are not only unjustly tempted to bring unhappiness and dependence upon themselves and children, but they are tempted, without knowing it, to injure all the same class with themselves.[6]

Thus, Malthus asserted, "a part of the society that cannot in general be considered as the most valuable part" consumes precious foodstuffs and resources, which,

[6] Malthus, *Principle of Population*, 40.

otherwise, could have supported "more industrial and more worthy members" of society. In other words, he implied that population can be and should be controlled by indirectly discouraging "unworthy" members of society from marrying, thus, preventing their increase.[7]

Malthus and Honda agreed, thus, on the one hand, that the asymmetrical relation between increase in population and shortage of subsistence would cause a catastrophe. On the other hand, they sharply disagreed about how such a disastrous situation could be averted. To put it bluntly, Honda did not consider the manipulation of "population" possible. For Honda, the problem was the explosive increase in the number of people, which he viewed uncontrollable. In *Tale of the West*, his major work on world history, Honda asks what will happen if population growth is as rapid as his overstated estimation:

> If we try to foster our country only by our power, such power would be always insufficient; people must be always tired, abandon their business, and might end up failing to survive the national crisis in Japan. Therefore, without introducing other countries' power, we cannot complete anything. In fact, in order to use other countries' power, we must cross the ocean. Then, in order to cross the ocean, we must learn astronomy, geology, and the art of navigation…[8]

Thus, eventually, he suggested obtaining new resources by establishing new colonies and increasing trade to accommodate explosive population growth. Even though his anxiety was expressed in a manner very similar to that of Malthus, what was lacking was the idea of limiting population by manipulating individuals'

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[7] Malthus, *Principle of Population*, 39.
[8] Honda, *Saiiki Monogatari*, 147.

desires. More fundamentally, what was absent in Honda's analysis in 1798 was the *concept* of population as an object that can be observable and manipulable.

This is a starting point in thinking about the emergence and prevalence of the concept of population in Modern Japan in the nineteenth century. Within eight decades, in fact, this essential divergence, as observed in 1798, had disappeared. By the time Malthus' work was first translated and introduced to Japanese readership in the 1870s, discussions of various social institutions and factors for constraining and controlling population had become widespread. Population was now commonly viewed as an object of study, an object of governance. How did such a shift occur? This chapter explores the period between the end of the eighteen century and the late nineteenth century, from the moment when Malthus and Honda simultaneously expressed concerns about population growth to the time when the Malthusian approach to population—and conception of population—became commonplace in Japan. This was an age of turbulence, which observed the collapse of conventional political, social, and cultural systems in Japan's domestic sphere, with the influx of Western knowledge and formation of the modern nation state. The concept of population emerged in the midst of such turmoil.

Absence of the Concept of Population in Pre-modern Population Surveys

Before discussing the modern concept of population, it is important to understand that people in power always have counted numbers of people, when possible. Japan was no exception, the lack of the concept of population, therefore, did not necessarily mean the absence of interest in counting people. Thus, the existence of a survey does not prove that the concept of population existed in the pre-modern period. Historian Sekiyama Naotaro suspects that the "first population survey of our country" took place in 85 B.C., based on his reading of *Chronicles of Japan* (日本書紀), but the details of that survey remain unclear. Historians and historical demographers who are more concerned with preserved data estimate that the *ritsuryo* government in Japan compiled a record of the population for the first time in 702, in order to redistribute requisitioned land and labor.[9] Data produced between the eighth and tenth centuries has been useful to research on family structure in pre-modern agricultural management, but does not reveal much about how people in power during this period understood human collectivity.

Except for a small number of influential families' genealogies, historians have found no records regarding population or family registers produced between the early eleventh and late sixteenth centuries. When the period of civil wars between rival daimyo (1467-1568) was over, some daimyo began organizing

[9] Laurel Cornell "Shumon aratame cho" [registers of religious faith] in *Tokugawa shakai karano tenbo: Hatten, kozo, kokusaikankei*"[From the perspective of Tokugawa society: Development, structure, international relations] ed. Hayami Akira (Tokyo: Dobunkan, 1989), 102-103.

"population registers" (人別改帳) and surveying agricultural villagers in order to estimate the available labor of their territories. A household formed a minimum unit for the survey, and the records included family members' names, family relationships, and ages. Later, these records were expanded to include properties such as cattle and houses, but it seems that such records were never been produced regularly. Such data would have provided daimyo with certain knowledge about their possessions in the territories. However, such information—for example, the number of male adults living in a territory—had nothing to do with the concept of population, since, as in the case of Malthus, it presupposes traceable changes over time—increases and decreases in the numbers of people in a community, at least—and the manipulability of population. Thus, it is difficult to find scientific attitudes toward and interest in manipulating population in such static, one-time-only surveys with no systematic methods.

In addition to population registers, such as the property surveys of daimyo, another type of survey, based on a totally different rationale, began in the early seventeenth century, that is, "registers of religious faith" (宗門改帳). European powers reached Asia, and daimyo in the Western part of Japan began trading with Portugal in the sixteenth century. Along with European culture, science, and technology, Christianity was actively propagated in this region by Jesuit missionaries. The Tokugawa government, which felt menaced by the idea of monotheism, eventually decided to expel all missionaries, convert Christians to

Buddhism, and punish those who refused to convert. This led to the Shimabara Uprising, in which more than 20,000 Christian peasants fiercely confronted the Tokugawa government and daimyo on the side of the government in 1637-1638. This incident gave the government an excuse to close the country more strictly, and an order of 1638 ordered officials to conduct a survey of the religious faith of virtually everyone in the territory. It required all Japanese to belong to Buddhist temples and to prove that they were not Christian. Unlike population registers, the object of this survey was not limited to peasants but included samurai and people in cities.

Matters for investigation in registers of religious faith were few, and very simple. For example, a record of a survey in the Mino region in 1638 simply provides the name of the head of a family, names of family members and their family relationships, and the name of the temple to which they belonged.

However, the fundamental rationale of this survey seems closer to that of the concept of population. The idea of observable and manipulable population presupposes a certain conception about the relationship between society as a whole and individuals. The collectivity of people is intelligible only if some commonality between these people is assumed, and an individual is as seen as a part of a collectivity. Population registers of the previous period did not go beyond the deeply divided worlds of peasants and samurai, and there was not a category of "people in general." However, this survey of religious faith presupposed

something like a self, or an inner world that enables religious faith. Certainly, the records of samurai and peasants were institutionally separated and their data never appeared on the same page. However, the fact that surveys with the same contents were required for both samurai and peasants indicates that registers of religious faith marked a new époque in understanding human collectivity and the history of its governance. As such, they mark an interesting point in the genealogy of the creation of the modern individual.

The Arrival of Statistics in Edo

To be sure, quantitative understanding of humanity is as old as human history. As noted in the previous section, local and central governments in the pre-modern era invented various methods of counting people in a certain territory for purposes of taxation and conscription. The politics of counting between authorities and the people, thus, was not a particularly new phenomenon in the nineteenth century, nor unique to the modern period. However, what was revolutionary in the notion of population were new ways of understanding collective life, brought about by a number of factors including the arrival of Western knowledge, particularly statistics and its methodology.

Statistics probably arrived in Japan around the 1850s. A primary reception center was the newly established official institution, *Bansho Shirabesho* (蕃書調所, later also called *Kaisei Jo* 開成所, hereafter the Western Research

Center), which was hurriedly founded in Edo in 1854, only one year after Mathew Perry's visit. Until then, diplomatic documents in foreign languages had customarily been handled in Nagasaki, at the western end of Japan, roughly 800 miles from Tokyo, which had been Japan's only official window to the outside world. However, given the Tokugawa government's urgent need for a group of reliable translators, as well as domestic unrest caused by foreign powers approaching Japan, the government wanted to keep such a division close to itself, in Edo, under its direct control.[10] The Center was designed as a school primarily for translation of foreign materials, as well as education in Western languages. Customarily, senior scholars, called "professors" (教授職), engaged in translation, and younger, relatively lower-level teachers took care of education.

At the outset, the Edo government was quite cautious, even fearful about introducing Western knowledge to Japan. This was because new knowledge, Japanese elites worried, might bring Christian values, which had been banned for more than two centuries, back to the country, possibly threatening the existing social hierarchy. The official proposal for the center testifies to such concerns: "The purpose of founding the Western Research Center is, first of all, to suppress foreign barbarians and prevent people from falling into the evil religion. Therefore, study must begin with the Chinese classics."[11] Even though the introduction of statistics does not seem particularly relevant to the spread of

[10] Hara Heizo, "Bansho shirabesho no sosetsu" [The Establishment of the Western Research Center] in *Rekishigaku kenkyu* 103 (1942).
[11] Hara, "Bansho shirabesho no sosetsu," 12.

Christianity, the Edo elites' concerns were not totally off base. In fact, statistics contributed to a fundamental change, later, in a way that the Tokugawa government's elites never imagined when they penned the proposal for the Western Research Center.

Statistics, however, did not appear to be the focus of attention in the beginning. Although statistical documents of European countries arrived in Japan around the 1850s, as a system of knowledge, statistics was formally studied and brought to Japan by two intellectuals, Nishi Amane and Tsuda Mamichi, who traveled to Holland at the command of the Edo government in 1863. With a deep sense of their mission to introduce useful knowledge to Japan, they chose five fields of study: diplomacy, jurisprudence, politics, economics, and statistics.[12] Nishi explained that he chose these subjects because he thought that Japan had learned many things from the Dutch but never studied how to govern a country in a "scientific," as opposed to Confucian, way.[13] In Leiden, Nishi and Tsuda studied for two years with political economist Simon Vissering. Yet, neither went deeply into the study of statistics after returning to Japan.[14]

One of the few early enthusiasts for the study of statistics was Sugi Koji, a senior scholar at the Western Research Center, later called a pioneer of statistics

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12 Shimamura Shiro, *Nihon tokei hattatsu shi* [The development of statistics in Japan] (Tokyo: Tokyo statistical association, 2008), 7. Simon Vissering, *Hyoki Teiko* [Principle of Statistics] trans. Tsuda Mamichi, (Tokyo: Seihyo ka, 1874).

13 Simamura, *Nihon tokei hattatsu shi*, 5.

14 Shimamura, *Nihon tokei hattatsu shi,* 9.

in Japan. Sugi, who was already attracted to this novel knowledge, appreciated Nishi and Tsuda's notes on Vissering's lectures, which encouraged and helped his research into all aspects of statistics, such as education, theory, and methods for various surveys. But even for such an enthusiastic supporter, the discipline of statistics was a totally new form of knowledge. Sugi recollected years later that, in the very beginning, when translating an article reporting literacy rates in Bayern, Prussia, he wondered how a decimal fraction could indicate a number of people.[15] He also noted that he sometimes did not understand the purpose of such numbers, but suspected that they would become important for his country, someday. This insight was, ultimately, correct, though it took decades for people around him to see it. One turning point that put statistics into the spotlight was the rise of international competitions, or at least an image of such outside of Japan.

International Crisis: Statistics and Images of World Order

The earliest publications on statistics reflected Japanese elites' anxieties about international hierarchy and competition among and with European powers. This was particularly the case in the middle- and second half of the nineteenth century, which witnessed the Opium War and Western powers' gunboat diplomacy in East Asia, propelling the Edo government to gain Western knowledge and develop military technology.[16] Indeed, during the time of the Edo

[15] Sugi Koji, *Kanzen fukkoku Suki Koji jiden* [Autobiography of Sugi Koji](Tokyo: Nihon Tokei Kyokai, 2005). Shimamura, *Nihon tokei hattatsu shi*, 4.
[16] Hara, "Bansho shirabesho no sosetsu," 12.

government, which lasted until 1867, the word "statistics" almost always referred to the comparison of countries.

Dutch statistician P. A. de Jong's book *Statistische tafel van alle landen der aarde* [Statistical Table of All Nations in the World], translated by leading Japanese intellectuals Fukuzawa Yukichi and his disciple Okamoto Setsuzo in 1860, for example, begins with a list of major cities in Holland, with numerical data concerning the country's budget, military power, industrial production, and colonies in Asia and Africa.[17] Other countries are alphabetically arranged, with their populations, military power, currencies, and state budgets represented in a number of tables.[18] In a similar manner, prominent German-French statistician Maurice Block's *Statistique de la France, comparée avec les divers pays de l'Europe* [Statistics of France: Comparison with Other European Countries], translated and published by Kato Hiroyuki in 1867, included illustrated maps in color, portraying statistical data through an image of competition among European powers, as if they were jostling one another (Figure 1).

Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, which arrived in Japan in the mid-1860s and was translated into Japanese at the Western Research Center, similarly confirmed Japanese elites' concerns. First translated into Chinese by a

[17] P. A. de Jong, *Statistische tafel van alle landen der aarde* (Arnhem, Netherland, Publisher unknown, 1854). *Bankoku Seihyo* (万国政表), translated by Fukuzawa Yukichi and Okamoto (also known as Furukawa) Setsuzo (publisher unknown, 1860) in *Meiji Bunka Zenshu Keizai hen* Vol.12 (Tokyo: Meiji Bunka Kenkyu kai, 1957) 49-52.

[18] Interestingly, Japanese translators hid data concerning Japan and stated "Since the ancient time, things regarding the Empire have been a state secret and details cannot be revealed…." *Bankoku Seihyo*, 50.

legal scholar and missionary William Alexander Martin, this book had already attracted enormous attention in East Asia, particularly among intellectuals in both China and Japan, because it provided basic terminology of modern international law, introducing Japanese intellectuals to new ways of understanding the world order.[19] Through its explanation of the idea of the sovereign state as the actor of international relations, this book taught Japanese intellectuals at the Western Research Center about international order and civilizational hierarchy, which implicitly justified domination and subjugation among countries, and in which Japan needed to take part in order to preserve independence from Western powers.

Numerous tables, lists, and colored maps of European countries in books of statistics in this period delivered images of a "balance of powers" as the logic of the world order. Likewise, examples of unequal treaties, such as the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty in 1838 and the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, provided evidence of discriminatory structures within the current world order. Hence, even after the collapse of the Edo government and the establishment of the Meiji government, new rulers chose to enter this international order, despite fierce anti-foreignism expressed in active campaigns to expel foreigners, described as "barbarians," defeat the "weak-kneed" Edo government, and restore the emperor.

More specifically, the new government's decision implied two means of

[19] Hiroharu Kobayashi, *Kokusai Chitsujo no Keisei to Kindai Nihon* [Formation of the International Order and Modern Japan](Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2002), 36.

preserving independence and improving the position of Japan: first, seeking political recognition from Western countries by appealing to the principle of modern international law, and second, competing with European powers through developing its own imperialism in East Asia. Once Japan had a statistical description of state power, it could be inserted into the comparison, easily clarifying conditions of Japan's security and its position in the international hierarchy. In a sense, Vincenz John's analysis in his book *Statistics History*, which prominent statistician Kure Ayatoshi translated in 1897, was much to the point; statistics originally meant a type of study of the "state," namely that of "balance," in which one can measure and compare a country's current productive force and wealth with older or other countries' statistical data.[20] Statistics, therefore, bore an inseparable relationship to the state from the outset.

Far more important, the applicability of statistics was not limited to the sphere of international politics in comparing and strengthening state power. As it does today, statistics offered multiple ideas and practices in nineteenth century Japan, providing two implications for a new understanding of social relations, which eventually led the emergence of the modern concept of population. One was the methodology of social observation, namely, mass observation, which contributed to the formation of population as an object of governance, and the other was a consequential shift from Confucian ideals to modern statistical thinking, two worldviews which Japanese intellectuals conceived as radically

[20] Vincenz John, *Sutachisuchikku rekishi*, trans. Kure Ayatoshi, (Tokyo: Imai Toshiro, 1887), 3.

incompatible. In the long run, these two social and intellectual implications proved to have far-reaching effects, provided by statistics.

Domestic Crisis: Deeper Implications of Statistical Thinking

While early statisticians explained the importance of statistics mostly in terms of numerical descriptions of the state, a different possibility for statistics and its broader political implications was introduced through Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*. Describing amazing regularity in the realm of human affairs, from birth rates to crime rates, this book attracted not only intellectuals but general readers, attaining enormous popularity in Europe in the 1860s.[21] Moreover, it opened up an important path toward the development of statistical thinking. As a historian, Buckle challenged one of history's dominant narratives, that of human will. Many European readers found his story scandalous, seeing in it the potential to undermine the moral grounding of society.[22] If society were ruled by statistical law, from which no one could escape, there would be no better or worse conduct. Human beings would seem to be totally pre-determined by external natural forces.

The fame of Buckle's book reached Japan in the 1870s, and it was translated into Japanese around 1875. Inspired by Buckle, Fukuzawa introduced the word "*sutachisuchiku*" (statistics) in his book, An *Outline of a Theory of*

[21] Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking 1820-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 27.
[22] Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking*, 27.

Civilization, published in 1875. In contrast to European concerns, however, Fukuzawa was fascinated by the statistical method in analyzing social phenomena—a method of mass observation. Fukuzawa asserted that, in using this method, simply increasing the size of a sample directly increases its accuracy. First, he gave an example of weather patterns: the ratio of sunny to rainy days. By taking records of not only one, but multiple places, for not one to two, but tens and hundreds of years, one gains a clearer sense of the regularity of the weather.[23]

This is applicable, Fukuzawa argued, not only in the observation of natural objects, such as weather, but human minds and acts. In reading Buckle's *History of Civilization*, Fukuzawa paid particular attention to the operation of statistical regularity in society, such as the murder rate in France, that of suicides in London, and the means of and reasons for homicide and suicide, all of which showed surprising consistency in numerical terms. Certainly, human minds change from time to time, even in a day. Indeed, not only others' minds but one's own are unfathomable. However, Fukuzawa told readers that even a trivial act in everyday life, such as buying cakes at a confectionery, actually follows certain statistical regularity, beyond individual will, if examined on the scale of the entire city of Tokyo.

He argued that the consumption of cake in Tokyo is as stable as if sellers and buyers had a contract beforehand. Even if we cannot read individuals' desires

[23] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 63.

for cakes, we are able to anticipate them when we look at the regularity of the "minds of people in Tokyo as one mind."[24] Fukuzawa gave another example of a hidden regularity beyond human will in the case of marriage, which one would normally expect to be a result of personal choice. He wrote:

> Marriage is one of the fundamental human relations; people everywhere consider it important and do not enter into it lightly. The likes and dislikes of the prospective bride and groom, their social position, their relative wealth, the wishes of their parents, the advice of the matchmaker, and so forth—a hundred factors enter into the picture. For all of these to be handled satisfactorily and the negotiations to be brought to a happy conclusion is, truly, nothing short of pure luck, something beyond the control of men. People say that a marriage is the work of the god of Izumo Shrine. These things show that marriage is the product of chance. And yet, if we look at the facts, marriage is not merely the result of chance, nor of the desires of the couple, nor of the wishes of the parents; and you can talk all you want about the persuasive powers of the matchmaker or about the spirit of the marriage gods, but the ultimate limiting and controlling factor on all of these things, that which finally makes or brakes the settlement of the marriage negotiations, is the all-powerful rice market.[25]

Fukuzawa then proceed to examine a correlation between marriage rates and the price of rice. What statistics allowed him to see were relationships between a social phenomenon and a determinant factor within such a phenomenon. This is precisely the direction of thought Honda never considered when he sought a solution for the problem of overpopulation in Edo. As Malthus searched for a solution for overpopulation and poverty in social policy, that is, in discouraging and delaying marriages of the poor, Honda's option was limited to sending away portion of the population by obtaining oversea colonies and gaining more

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[24] Fukuzawa, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, 65.
[25] Fukuzawa, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, 66.

resources outside Japan. Although Honda calculated possible growth of population, it seems that the idea of limiting population increase did not occur to him.

Certainly, what Fukuzawa's concern was not ways to control population growth. However, his approach to a social phenomenon—relationships between marriage and the price of rice—has something in common with Malthus'. Both Malthus and Fukuzawa believe that individuals' will power and decisions do not make a significant difference in social phenomena such as overpopulation or marriage. More precisely, they argued that if one wishes to manipulate social phenomena, bending individuals' decisions is not an effective way. Instead, one must figure out what determines individuals' seemingly "free" choice and work on such determinant factors. Fukuzawa explained the importance of such determinant factors by making a distinction between "simple causes" and "remote causes" of social phenomena. According to Fukuzawa, in the case of marriage, the likes and dislikes of the couple, parents' wishes, the matchmaker's advice, and so forth are all simple causes, which seems crucial in individual cases but are not determinant at the collective level. Finding the "remote cause," that is, the price of rice, in the case of marriage, is an indirect yet more effective, way to manipulate a social phenomenon.

Statistician Kure Ayatoshi had an accurate view of the distinction between the individual and collective level in understanding society. In a tone similar to

that of Buckle's book, Kure explained how statistical regularities were persistent in society:

> So-called human life covers all aspects of our life such as our spirit, customs, society, politics and nature. Between Heaven and Earth, there is nothing that does not have a law. Therefore, one cannot say that human society does not have a law to maintain itself. For example, there is no doubt that births and deaths, and marriages, suicides, and crimes, all these phenomena have their own laws. These phenomena at a glance do not look like the operation of nature but [the outcome of] human actions. However, these are, indeed, the effects of nature. A suicide that is intended to disobey such a law ends up following the law of nature. Therefore, we must say that human life is a product of nature and ruled by nature.[26]

Kure emphasizes that individual will cannot disturb statistical law. However, this does not necessarily mean that statistical regularity completely and indefinitely pre-determines all human actions. In other words, Kure's understanding of the ineffectiveness of individual's will does not deny the possibility that humans could manipulate social phenomena that seem to be governed by statistical regularity—rather than sheer will power—by some other means. Indeed, what Kure sought was what Fukuzawa tried to argue for in the name of "remote cause," and how to access such a cause. Kure continues:

> If you study [these social phenomena] from the perspective of nature, they are, indeed, ruled by nature. However, if you tried to see them from the perspective of society, they emerge as phenomena peculiar to society.[27]

Kure urged statisticians to implement a mission to examine "nature" within society through statistical data and reveal scientific laws, from which no one can

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[26] Kure Ayatoshi, "Tokei no hanashi" in *Stachisuchikku zasshi* [statistical journal](publisher unknown, 1892).
[27] Kure, "Tokei no hanashi" 68.

escape, in society. While his tone was slightly different, what Kure was paying attention to was very close to the quasi-intractable yet fluid nature of society found by Fukuzawa. Like today's social scientists, both Fukuzawa and Kure expected that humans could eventually manipulate such laws and society by finding and extracting general tendencies and rules of social phenomena. For them, statistical regularity did not mean something completely intractable, but an object of a particular kind of research concerning society, which was not institutionalized in the early Meiji period but would later be called "social science."

Such indirect approaches to individuals' choices had interesting political implications in the early Meiji period. As mentioned before, Fukuzawa's argument that one can read the collective desires of humans through statistics must be understood in a broader context now, namely, within the context of a change in the meaning and function of human desire in constructing social and national order. During this period, in particular, intellectuals emphasized the universality of human desire, and the positive meaning and function of desire. Nishi Amane wrote:

> What is this selfish desire? It means that one always tries to gain a benefit anyway and seek one's own convenience; all one could think of is prioritizing oneself and beating others. Such a tendency of humans is ubiquitous and whoever you ask—regardless of whether he/she is the emperor, aristocrat or commoner, scholar or layman, female or male slave, or beggar or thief— the answer will be always the same.[28]

[28] Nishi Amane, *Nisi Amane Zenshu*, (Tokyo: Munetaka shobo, 1981).

In the *Meiroku zasshi* by *Meirokusha* circle, of which Fukuzawa was one of the founders, Tsuda Mamichi published "On Desire" (情欲論), in which he criticize Buddhism for its rejection of earthly desire (煩悩), and Confucianism for its condemnation of human desire. According to Tsuda, there are at least two kinds of desire. Firstly, carnal desire derives from nature, and humans cannot live their true lives and produce future generations without it. Secondly, desire for wisdom, which, Tsuda explained, develops from "knowledge and custom," and is the driving force in civilizing and strengthening the nation. He further stated that people in civilized countries have stronger desire than those in barbarian countries. [29]

More importantly, Tsuda clearly equated the exercise of one's own desire, regardless of carnal or intellectual, with freedom:

> We should laugh at scholars of Chu Hsi, who consider human desire as something that contradicts nature (天理). I have no idea how they can say that human desire is not natural. If you have desire to know the nature (性)of things, are fond of novelty, enjoy freedom, hope for happiness, such desire is the most beautiful among the variety of human desires, and it is necessary for human nature. All these desires indeed support our progress.[30]

Tsuda's emphasis on the positive meaning and function of desire must be understood in relation to the development of liberalism in this period. Fukuzawa,

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[29] Tsuda Mamichi, "Joyoku ron" [On Desire]" in *Tsuda Mamichi zenshu*, ed. Okubo Toshiaki, Kuwahara Nobusuke, and Kawasaki Masaru, (Tokyo: Misuzu shobo, 2001), 352.
[30] Tsuda, "Joyoku ron," 352.

Nishi, Tsuda and other intellectuals who gathered in and around the *Meirokusha* circle embraced the western concept of freedom, and, as shown above, this often meant unrestrained exercise of desire; without such freedom, they thought, their country would not enjoy prosperity and gain the strength that would make their country's independence possible. Needless to say, this is a fundamental belief underlying classic liberalism, and statistics offered the ability to read human desire as the driving force of the spread of liberalism.

Conclusion

As the concept of human desire went through such a radical change, this also marked the emergence of a new political vision. Under the Confucian value system, human desire was associated with images of extravagance and moral degeneration, and often considered something to be repressed. However, once the abovementioned image of competing states was widely accepted and the formation of a modern nation became an urgent issue in Japan, Fukuzawa and other intellectuals in the *Meirokusha* circle reframed human desire and re-discovered it as a mean of independence for the nation's people and a source of productive force.

At this point, statistics and statistical thinking, which visualized and substantiated the collective desires of Japanese citizens, came to the center of political reasoning and calculation and became a technology of modern

governance. Further advancing his analysis, Fukuzawa argued that ruling a country could succeed only when the government read and follows people's desires and opinions. Contrary to long-studied Confucian ethics, the fluidity and uncertainty of this new conception of the human mind as a foundation of politics urged intellectuals to shift their political attitudes in politics, from teaching Confucian guidelines to "reading" tendencies within society. Such a change eventually led intellectuals to consider how to mobilize human desire more effectively in the formation of the modern nation. In other words, now the question was how they could stimulate and channel people's collective desires.

Thus, it was reasonable for Fukuzawa distance himself from the overemphasis on the power and efficacy of Confucian indoctrination in schools and within the family, intended to train people in a particular way; he asserted, "If you believe that you can freely raise a child who meets your expectations by putting the child into a school, that is your ridiculous fantasy."[31] Fukuzawa argued that there was nothing wrong with education with a Confucian moral basis, but that such education had been undermined since Japan's encounter with the West, declaring the death of Confucian-based education, which values loyalty and filial piety. Instead, he suggested that people should now face the "power of wind," which Confucian indoctrination cannot nullify, stating: "If one is exposed to Buddhist wind, one will become Buddhist and if one is exposed to Confucian wind,

[31] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Tokuiku ikan," [On Moral Education] (Tokyo: Iida Heisaku, 1882), 3.

one will become Confucian."[32] Therefore, what mattered for Japanese elites was no longer seeking a better and truer vision for governance but controlling "wind" and watching what people sought in politics based on their collective desires.

With the decline of the Confucian value system, Fukuzawa rightly conceived that people's collective desires in the form of "*yoron* (輿論 public opinion)," would be the new basis for the social regime, a reconceptualization and new definition of the human mind, representing an epistemological change in this period. However older intellectuals lamented the results of the collapse of Confucian values, the opening of the country and revolution in Meiji had irreversibly changed people's minds and placed independence at the core of a new morality. Through these historical events, the traditional social hierarchy in Japan was shaken and had, inevitably, come to seem unstable even to ordinary people whose lives were more slowly affected. Now, as the old Confucian concepts of nature had guided human society before, the new concept of nature in the form of public opinion inevitably shaped society.

The statistical concept of population as an object of governance emerged within anxiety concerning domestic and international crises in the second half of the nineteenth century. As we see in the work of Honda Toshiaki, the practice of counting and calculating numbers of people did exist in the Tokugawa period, but such did not present population as controllable. Indeed, "population" merely

[32] Fukuzawa, "Tokuiku ikan," 4.

signified increasing numbers of people, and possible options for a ruler were, basically, reactionary: providing resources and space through international trade and colonization in order to accommodate such increase. Such a pre-modern theory of population might have been compatible with a concept of population based on numerical description of the state before the Meiji Restoration. However, it was radically different from conceptions of population as regularity, which became foundations for a new social order with the decline of Confucian social order and values.

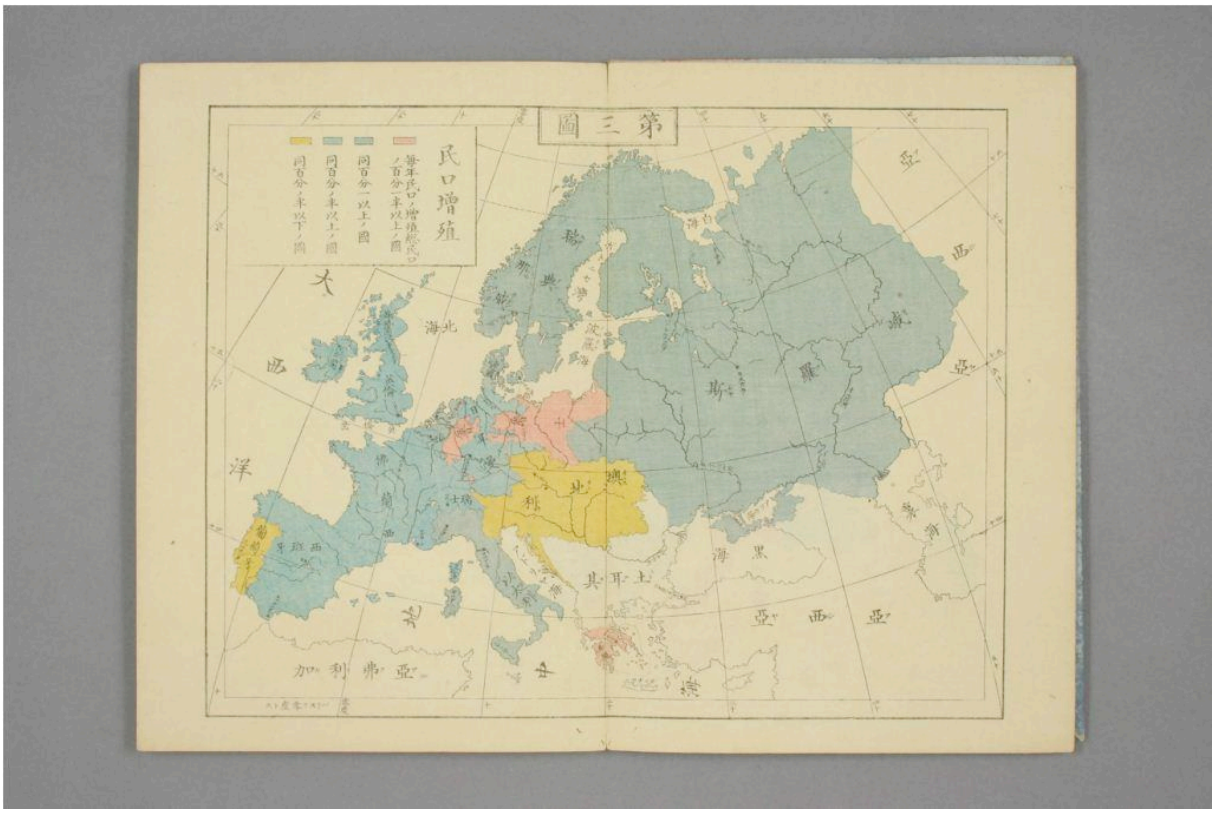
As Fukuzawa and other intellectuals observed, statistical regularity was conceived as "nature" in the midst of society. According to this conception, "nature" is the direct product of human collective life, but is not directly manipulable. Nevertheless, this is different from Honda's completely laissez-faire approach to population. While systematic investigation into governing populations was developed later in the institutionalized form of social science, what Fukuzawa called the "human mind" and "public opinion" revealed that rudimentary forms of the concept of population as an object of governance were already emerging in the early Meiji period.

Appendix for Chapter 1

Picture 1:

"A Table of Comparison among Western Countries:
Their rise and fall as well as strength and weakness"

From Mairice Block's *Statistique de la France, comparée avec les divers pays de l'Europe*, originally published in 1875 (second edition) and translated by Kato Hiroyuki.



Chapter 2:

Statistics and the Location of Hygiene :

The Concept of Hygiene in Meiji Japan.

In 1889, An army doctor, Mori Rintaro—later to be known as Mori Ogai, one of the most well-known authors in modern Japanese literature—wrote an opening article and celebrated the publication of his new journal, *Eisei shinshi* [New Journal of Hygiene] in a somewhat poetic tone, describing that the journal was launched "at the moment when the Constitution fluttered and circled to a landing from a rift in layers of clouds."[1] He hurriedly added that this did not mean that his journal intended to benefit randomly from the festive mood of national events, but, he wrote, "there is a more specific reason."[2] The association between the new constitution and the concern of hygiene did not come to his mind by chance. In another article on hygiene, too, he expressly signed off on by noting that it was "[written] on the day of the constitution."[3] What was in Mori's mind when he juxtaposed the inauguration of the constitutional monarchy and his new journal to promote people's health?

Construction of Hygiene

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[1] Mori Rintaro, "Eisei shinshi no shin men moku" [The essence of new journal of hygiene] in *Ogai Zenshu* vol, 29 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974), 1.
[2] Mori, "Eisei shinshi no shin men moku," 1
[3] Mori, "Koshueisei ryakusetsu" [Overview of public health] in *Ogai Zenshu* vol, 29.

Historians have agreed that the experience of epidemics has shaped the history of hygiene and public health in modern Japan. Deadly diseases such as cholera hit Japan widely, beginning in the 1870s, after the long-lasting checking point system (関所制度) was abandoned and people's mobility suddenly increased. With this disease, with no known causes at that time, containment of patients was the only possible measure that could be taken. The Meiji government constructed isolation hospitals called *hibyoin* (避病院) and doctors and policemen collaborated to spot patients and hospitalize them, sometimes in a forcible manner.

However, because patients of cholera usually did not come back from the hospital due to the absence of effective treatment, officials' attempts to contain cholera encountered fierce resistance from patients and their families. Therefore, the struggle with the epidemic also meant not only mobilizing doctors and the police force, but educating people on both national and local levels about new scientific knowledge and practices of hygiene. In addition to cholera, waves of epidemics including small pox and disease-carrying pests hit Japan, simultaneously. The construction of the modern institution of medicine and public health was basically the government's reaction to these diseases. Therefore, the belief that the progress of public health and medicine promotes people's well-being and happiness motivated large majority of historians of public health,

hygiene, and medicine for a long time.[4] As a result, until recently, there was no perspective through which to investigate the significance of such topic as an issue of political power.

Since the 1980s, however, a new trend in the history of public health and hygiene has appeared—particularly in the social history of urban communities—which looks into power struggles within institutions and practices of public health. Research in this field has examined how the idea of public health and hygiene operated in constructing a discriminatory social structure within a community. For example, Narita Ryuichi, historian of modern Japan, emphasizes the importance of the idea of hygiene for writing a history of modern Japan from a new perspective. According to Narita, rules and norms to keep the social order in modern cities were created in the late nineteenth century, and such direct and indirect regulation developed particularly with respect to the following four aspects: "1) legal ordinances proper to urban areas, 2) sites concerning disease and hygiene, 3) discourse concerning and targeted at the lower social class in urban areas, and 4) city planning and public facilities."[5]

Hygiene as a series of bodily practices became an important part of the experience of cholera and other epidemics in the Meiji period. This process produced a perspective that obsessively organized and re-organized a binary between sanitary and unsanitary, which eventually identified the poor and slums

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[4] Rie Hogetsu, *Kindai nihon ni okeru eisei no tenkai to juyo* [Development and Acceptance of Hygiene in Modern Japan](Tokyo: Toshin do, 2010), 3.
[5] Ryuichi Narita, "Kindai toshi to minshu" [modern city and its people] in *Toshi to minshu* [city and people] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1993), 13-16.

as unsanitary, and, thus, to be eliminated from local communities. Narita sees hygiene as a key factor in producing and reinforcing the mechanism of social discrimination in modern urban communities.

In his book titled *Modern Japan and Public Health*, which examines how the spread of such views affected the poor in Kyoto, Kobayashi Takehiro further looks into what Narita identified as the binary perspective of sanitary and unsanitary. Kobayashi particularly describes the state of the poor who cannot reach "sanitary" life and how the authorities and local communities justified the discriminatory corralling of such people. In particular, Kobayashi emphasizes that the development of the public health administration was not simply "practices of hygiene and public health from above" but that local residents' participation accelerated such a process.[6]

The State and the body

Certainly, historical studies of public health administration, the practice of hygiene, and the discriminatory structure of urban communities as a result of such public and private regulations have shared the view that the history of hygiene and public health must reveal and problematize the use of oppressive political power in collective and individual practices for well-being. Such an approach to the history of public health and hygiene deepened even more in the late 1990s, particularly under the influence of Michel Foucault's notion of

[6] Kobayashi Takehiro, *Kindainihon to Koshueisei* [Modern Japan and publich health] (Tokyo: Yuzankaku shuppan, 2001).

"disciplinary power." The most important impact of Foucauldian theory on this field was his theorization of power, which enabled historians to trace the operation of power not only in the framework of state control over the poor, but also to investigate the microscopic struggle for power among (not on the level of the group of people considered the poor but) individuals, their strategies for life, their resistance, and their politics. Indeed, historians of this group introduced a viewpoint from which hygiene and public health are seen as an art of governing, namely, governing the self and the other. Based on this new conception of power, several historians have written histories of the creation of the body of the national subject through various institutions and their functions, including the school, military, prison and factory.[7]

More recently, Hogetsu Rie has written about how the oral cavity became the object of hygiene and how the so-called new middle class, which emerged in the pre-war and wartime periods, participated and resisted such a process. According to Hogetsu, people's practice of oral hygiene was not facilitated by an understanding of medical and scientific knowledge but was instead related to their class-consciousness and their strategies to differentiate themselves from the lower class.[8]

What these studies have identified as issues of hygiene varies: images of

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[7] See, Narusawa Akira *Gendai nihon no shakai chitujo* [Modern Japan and Social order] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1997); Tanigama Ryosho, "Meijiki ni okeru nihonjin no shintai no kokuminka no katei ni kansuru kenkyu [Research concerning the process of making the body of Japanese in the Meiji period" in in *Nihon tai'ikudaigaku fubokai heisei 10 nendo shoreikenkyuhi seika hokokusho*. 1999; Narita, "Toshi to Minshu."

[8] Hogetsu Rie, *Kindai nihon ni okeru eisei no tenkai to juyo*, 195-239.

policemen and doctors spraying phenol water, a healthy-teeth contest at an elementary school, and watchful neighbors and their violence against people in slums. These historical images are dedicated to uncovering the "real experience of hygiene," including everyday practices, emotions, and material conditions. However, what counts as a relevant topic for the history of hygiene and what does not has not been explicitly stated. In these historical studies, it remains unclear what hygiene meant at that time, and what these historians themselves mean by using the term "hygiene."

As this chapter suggests, over the course of history, the meaning of hygiene has changed and what the word hygiene covers has also changed. As we will see in the next section, however, what matters is not these historians' definitions of hygiene and whether they consistently stick to their definition or not. As this chapter will reveal, the idea of hygiene had not only unsettled, but was incessantly debated and contested particularly in the early Meiji period. Intellectuals often had distinctive views of their own about the concept of hygiene and defined and redefined it, discussing which aspects of human life this concept covered. This chapter argues that the discussion of hygiene was not merely a site for preventing disease and keeping people healthy, but that discussion concerning hygiene was associated with identifying the human condition and determining what the state was and how it should govern its people.

Historian of modern China Ruth Rogaski discusses the change of the meaning of hygiene (*eisei* in Japanese, *wei sheng* in Chinese) in Tianjin in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through the development of hygienic projects and facilities.[9] She argues that, traditionally, "*wei sheng* (衛生)" signifies "protecting life" at the level of individuals and in their personal practices. However, when the Japanese system of controlling disease and the Japanese word "*eisei* (衛生)" were introduced, the meaning of the same word gradually changed to so-called public health, which encompassed individuals and the state.

As Rogaski explicates in the case of China, the meaning of the word hygiene/*eisei* also shifted in Japan over the course of history. As described in this chapter, hygiene/*eisei* had a much broader meaning and scope in the Meiji period, and tracing the process of change adds a new perspective on the history of hygiene. Moreover, this chapter argues that studies of hygiene that do not pay attention to the fact that hygiene is also a discourse are insufficient, because such studies neglect the fact that their analytical frameworks—such as the public and the personal, the state and the individual, the body and its boundary, Japanese and western traditions—have been at least partly creation in the course of the discursive construction of hygiene.

Thus, this study examines the discursive construction of hygiene, especially from the 1880s to the early 1890s. Needless to say, the study of hygiene as a discourse does not necessarily contradict with an analysis of hygiene as a part of people's everyday practices and strategies for life. Indeed, this study aims to clarify the *reason* that these practices and strategies are implicitly followed.

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[9] Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of health and disease in treaty-port China* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2004).

An approach that analyzes a discourse or a concept differs from a history of ideas. The dominant narrative in the history of hygiene in modern Japan focuses on a few elite intellectuals who introduced and spread the idea of hygiene to Japan, such as those who studied in Europe in the 1880s, including Mori Rintaro, Goto Shinpei or those who acquired the knowledge of Western medicine in Japan, such as Nagayo Sensai. It often focuses on the quick institutionalization of such an idea of hygiene in the form of, for example, schools, factories, prisons, hospitals and the military, with particular focus on state's making and controlling of the body of national subject through these socio-political institutions to strengthen its power.

My project does not necessarily object to such a narrative, and, in fact, it has greatly benefited from research that has been conducted within this framework. However, this chapter discusses hygiene rather differently; because such a narrative, particularly with its staging theory about the acceptance and mobilization of the idea of hygiene, inevitably substantiates and materializes, or even essentializes, state power, and describes the history of hygiene as a process in which this state power permeates every aspects of people's everyday life.

As one possible solution to such a state-centered approach, some historians of hygiene and public health have stressed the active and passive resistance of people against state control of the body. Indeed, state regulation encountered various forms of resistance, and sometimes local people's resistance strategically appropriated or emasculated state programs. Hogetsu, for instance, introduces an

example of the institutionalization of oral hygiene in elementary school education in wartime Tokyo. In her narrative, the new middle class in urban areas selectively adopted the state promotion of dental hygiene, which originally aimed at raising awareness about the health of future soldiers, but was often incorporated as local people's own strategy to serve their own middle class consciousness. Such an approach relativizes state power and shows its limit and inscribes individuals' active participation in the history of hygiene. Nonetheless, this chapter argues that such "state power" and such "individuals" have been constructed through the discursive construction of hygiene.

The history of the discursive construction of hygiene does not describe state power as an entity that appropriates and domesticates a hygiene that originated in the West. It neither recounts people's selective adoption, procrastination, or disregard in accepting certain practices of hygiene recommended by the state. Instead, this chapter describes how such individuals and the state were *created* through the discussion of hygiene.

This chapter focuses on a statistical vision, and the concepts of population and individual that were produced by such a vision. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to show that the concept of hygiene was fundamentally intertwined with statistics, and that the discourse concerning hygiene in this period was necessarily involved with discussions on governance. More specifically, this chapter asks: What was at stake in the construction of hygiene, how did it redefine the concept of sovereignty and people's relationships with the government, and

how did it set an ideal model of the state and that of individuals? This chapter will argue that the construction of hygiene was a site, which constructed what the state, society, and individual were and how they were best governed. In other words, what this chapter tries to understand, through these questions, is people's relationship with themselves, their involvement with others' lives, and the ways in which human collective life is theorized and treated. Thus, the crux of the question here is: What is underlining direction and rationality in thinking about hygiene, and how was it built?

Position of Hygiene

The New Textbook of Hygiene (衛生新篇) by Mori Rintaro and Koike Masanao comprises nearly five hundred pages. [10] It is divided into twenty-one chapters and contains several hundred subentries. The chapter titles of this book are: Theory, History, Life, Nutrition, Food and Luxuries, Air, Climate, Acclimation, Clothing, City, Pollution Removal, Race, Birth and Growth, Hospitals, Prisoners, Ships and Vehicles, Airships and Airplanes, Labor, Industries, Quarantine, and Epidemics. The chapter on nutrition explains, for example, various Japanese words that mean food and meal, and the names of nutrients and their basic functions. It even includes pros and cons about vegetarianism. Mori, who was a surgeon general at that time, and his superior officer Koike Masanao wrote this

[10] Max Rebner, *Lehrbuch der Hygiene: Systematische Darstellung der Hygiene und ihrer wichtigsten Untersuchungs-methoden* (Leipzig and Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1890).

book based on German physician Max Rebner's *Lehrbuch der Hygiene: Systematische Darstellung der Hygiene und ihrer wichtigsten Untersuchungs-methoden* [Textbook of Hygiene: The Systematic Presentation of Hygiene and its Principal Examination Methods]. Fujikawa Yu, a historian of medicine in Japan, later described this publication as the "first book of hygiene published by scholars of our country."[11] According to Date Kazuo, biographer of Mori, all students who entered the army medical school used it as a reference book, and it was also widely purchased among officials in the hygiene department of the Japanese army.[12]

What perspective on the concept of hygiene had to be assumed in order to see something coherent among these seemingly random things? Why did this textbook of hygiene have to be such an encyclopedic work? Mori attributed the broadness of the category of hygiene to its ever-changing nature. According to Mori, hygiene keeps changing what it means and what it covers, depending upon the changes in human life. If human life begins relying on a new source of power or if an occupation became unnecessary and a new one appears, hygiene has to deal with such changes. When a scientist discovers a new nutrient, hygiene has to do a follow-up study because some people will find a way to fake the nutrient.[13] These new domains of human life must be covered by the concept of hygiene because "all these [changes] can alter the conditions of human life and possibly

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[11] Fujikawa Yu, *Nihon igaku shi* [Medical history of Japan] (Tokyo: Shokabo, 1904).
[12] Date Kazuo, *Ishi to shiteno Mori Ogai* [Mori Ogai as a medical doctor] (Tokyo: Sekibundo shuppan, 1981).
[13] Mori Rintaro, *Eisei Shinpen* in *Ogai Zenshu* vol. 29, 10.

harm it."[14] Thus, in the chapter titled "Airships and Airplanes," for instance, Mori discusses the general condition of the human body in flight; how muscles, the nervous system, and blood circulation change; the highest height that the human body can reach without damage, and so forth. In other words, how the experience of a new method of transportation might possibly harm the human body.

Mori goes on to say that the meaning of hygiene also changes according to the degree of civilization and the location of the country as well. In the chapter of on acclimation, Mori examines how climatic environments impact on collective human life based on numerical and statistical data concerning various tropical diseases and each race's susceptibility to them. He concludes that "hygiene" refers to knowing the things surrounding humans that give damage to them and identifying, among such things, what must be and can be managed collectively.[15] Hence, Mori's hygiene textbook seems to describe meticulously the material world and its risks that encompass human life.

How, then, did such a concept come into the terminology of governance? As stated in the previous section, this chapter does not aim at tracing the change of the meaning of the word hygiene per se. However, intellectuals' thought processes concerning how to find a proper translation for the English/Germen word hygiene reveals their thinking as to what hygiene should be and what was at stake in the concept of hygiene.

Historians of hygiene in Japan often name Nagayo Sensai as the founder of

[14] Mori, *Eisei Sinpen*, 10.
[15] Mori, *Eisei Shinpen*, 10.

hygiene in Japan, because he chose the word "*eisei"* for the translation of "hygiene" in the early Meiji period. Born in Nagasaki in 1838, Nagayo studied with Ogata Koan, the famous scholar of Dutch studies, and had an opportunity to study Western medicine with Dutch navy doctor Johannes Lijdius Catharinus Pompe van Meerdervoort. Nagayo traveled to Europe as a member of the Iwakura mission in 1871-1873, and had a chance to observe medicine and public health administration in Europe and the United States:

> During my visit to Britain and the United States, I often heard words like "sanitary" and "health." After arriving in Berlin, too, words such as "*Gesundheitspflege*" popped up many times in conversations [with German scholars and officials.] Initially, I just literally understood it and did not give any deep thought to it. However, as my survey progressed, I realized that it does not simply mean protecting health. I gradually began wondering about it and investigated it. And, finally, I discovered that this is a special administrative organization that is in charge of protecting the health of the people in the nation as a whole. In fact, it originated in medicine and covered chemistry, engineering, meteorology, statistics, and so on. By using such broad knowledge in its administration, it functions as a mechanism to eliminate harm and implement the welfare of the state. It is composed of a group of administrative divisions and is called "Sanitätswesen [medical corps]" and "offentliche hygiene [public hygiene]" and it has become an important institution in the national government, dealing not only with epidemics but with relief for the poor, sanitation of the land, water supply and sewerage, regulation of construction in urban areas, and surveillance of drugs, dyestuff, and food. It comprehensively controls everything concerning harm and help for human life.[16]

Although Nagayo's initial mission in this trip was a survey of medical education, after returning to Japan, this "undertaking, which is completely new and still nameless in the Orient," caught his mind. He recollected later that he believed that

[16] Nagayo Sensai, *Shoko Shishi* [Autobiography of Nagayo Sensai] in *Matsumoto Jun jiden, Nagayo Sensai jiden*, ed. Ogawa Teizo and Sakai Shizu (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980).133–134.

this still nameless project is "rooted in medicine," and people from the medical profession would conduct it best.[17]

Nagayo worked on the development of medical education and a qualification system for medical doctors at the bureau of medical affairs in the Ministry of Education until 1875 when the bureau of medical affairs was split into two parts: one dealing with medical education, which remained in the Ministry of Education, and the other, new section, moved to the Home Ministry. Nagayo later recollected this moment:

> [When *imu-kyoku* (bureau of medical affairs) was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Home Affairs to in 1875] I felt that "*imu-kyoku*" did not sound right. Since long ago, I was eager to find catchy words that broadly describe yet grasp the core of the meaning of protecting national public health (国民保健の保護) such as "sanitary" [in English] or "*Gesundheitspflege*" [in German]. I imagined that words such as *hoken* (保健), *hoan* (保安), or *kenko-yojo* (健康養生) would work, but they did not go very well when attaching *-kyoku* (bureau) or *-ka* (division) to these words. Eventually, I came up with Zhuang-zi's term of *eisei* (衛生). Although the original meaning must be quite different, I thought the appearance of the characters was interesting and sounded good, too. Therefore, I thought it was a good idea to stretch the meaning and use it for now.[18]

It is important to note that Nagayo, who used to stress that this new project was "rooted in medicine," now hoped to draw a line between *imu* (医務, medical affairs) and the new concept, for which he was looking for a new word. According to his recollection, he was not so sure about the nature of this new concept but

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[17] Nagayo, *Shoko Shihi*, 134.

[18] *Koshueisei no hattatsu* [History of the development of public health] edit. Nihon koshu eisei kyokai (Tokyo: Nihon koshueisei kyokai, 1967), 67.

certain that what he had been dealing with was not just a subcategory of medicine (which was already a part of common knowledge among Japanese intellectuals), but something new, something that had to be named. Mori also seemed to ponder this issue around the same time. When defining the concept of hygiene, he differentiated it from medicine. He emphasized that hygiene differs from preventive medicine because it does not only protect people's health but attempts to expand it.[19] If hygiene is not a subcategory of medicine, how and where did Nagayo place the distinctive field of hygiene? Historian Kojima Kazutaka emphasizes that Nagayo viewed hygiene as situated between police administration and local administration.[20] Mori also sees the ideal function of hygiene in what was called "hygiene-police" in Germany.[21]

However, Mori insists that, when thinking about hygiene, one must not confuse the "*gaku* (scholarly knowledge)" of hygiene with the "*jutsu* (art or technique)" of hygiene. He stresses that hygiene must be understood as knowledge, not as an art.[22] Needless to say, he does not necessarily mean that the practices and policies concerning hygiene should not be understood under the name of hygiene. Instead, he is trying to make a distinction between practice and knowledge. According to Mori, hygiene is first and foremost knowledge, and other uses of the term are mere applications of hygiene. In fact, he refuses the idea that

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19 Mori, *Eisei shinpen*, 10.
20 Kojima Kazutaka, "Nagayo sensai no eiseigyoseiron to naimusho no eiseigyosei" in *Meijiki iryo, eisei gyosei no kenkyu* (Kyoto: Minuruva shobo, 2011), 1-25.
21 Sato Izumi, "Mottomo sugureta teki" [The strongest enemy] in *Gendai shiso* vol. 31, issue 13. (November 2003). 198-214.
22 Mori Rintaro, "Koshueisei ryakusetsu [Overview of public health]" in *Ogai Zenshu* vol, 29 (Tokyo:Iwanami shoten, 1974), 514-515.

there is a practice of hygiene without the support of knowledge. He criticizes the idea that a food-related taboo, such as eating pork that is described in biblical texts, was actually a practice of hygiene because it prevented people from getting specific disease or parasitic worms. In other words, Mori insists that only practices mediated by hygienic knowledge should be called the practice of hygiene.

The word hygiene, which Nagayo tentatively used, quickly spread. In Japanese terminology, "hygiene" was translated into *eisei* and public health was translated into *koshu-eisei* (public hygiene). Although *eisei* tended to signify individual practices of hygiene and *koshu-eisei* implied the institutional aspect of hygiene, these two concepts contains the word "eisei." The following sections will show that, whether the word includes "*koshu*" (public) or not, what was at stake in the discussion concerning *eisei*/hygiene was what human collective life means and how it should be governed.

If, as Mori believed, hygiene has to be strictly grounded on specifically hygienic knowledge, what is such knowledge about? What is its function? Mori suggested that hygiene functions as a way to know what can be collectively controlled. Just as Nagayo unconsciously wished to draw a line between the matter of medicine and that of hygiene, in "*koshu-eisei ryakusetsu*" (公衆衛生略説) [Overview of Public Health], Mori repeatedly stressed that hygiene is one of the academic disciplines (学) and should not be confused with various forms of health practice:

> The academic discipline that people today invoke with the word *kenko eisei gaku* (健康衛生学 [studies of health and hygiene]) came from the German word "*Hygiene*." This word was originally an adjectival term in ancient Greek. Thus, the Greeks added the word *techne* to signify the "technique of hygiene" (衛生術). Later, Galen and others began simply calling it *hyugyainee* (hygiene). Thus, nowadays, this hygiene has become the name for an academic discipline, and it is so defined.[23]

Specifically, the following sections of this chapter show three aspects of hygiene that still underlie our ways of thinking today, but which are no longer particularly considered within the scope of hygiene.

> Projects concerning hygiene inevitably go beyond the jurisdiction of administration. However, it would be impossible to find a reason to object to such projects, even if one were to search for it, because it is not a matter of size. In essence, there is no difference between a pile of dust that annoys the neighbors and a problem of sewage disposal that pollutes the entire city. The difference is only in terms of its scale, not its nature. This is because we believe that what is called "public health" cannot exist apart from each individual's health. Therefore, we must entirely assume that, like our bodies, there is the body of the nation (民躯, *Volkskoerper*). Therefore, when we say a citizen's health, we mean only the "average man's (*homme moyen*) health." In addition, even when we say the people's disease (epidemic), it is each individual's disease and does not mean that the people become an entity that suffers from disease.[24]

This passage points out the foundation of what hygiene was in the Meiji period and what it is today. Let us focus on the ideas of the concept of the "average man." Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet published *Sur l'Homme et le Développement de Ses Facultés, ou Essai de Physique Sociale* [On Man and the Development of his Faculties, or Essays on Social Physics] in 1835. It is this book that suggests the

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[23] Mori, "Koshueisei ryakusetu," 518-519.
[24] Mori, "Koshueisei ryakusetsu," 518-519.

provocative concept of "*Homme moyen* [average man]. [25]

Quetelet was born in Belgium in 1796, and studied astronomy, meteorology, mathematics, physics and statistics. *On Man* argued that the law of nature, which one finds in the field of natural science, rules human behavior. For instance, based on a survey of criminal court documents from 1826 to 1831, Quetelet reported that the number of homicides was nearly consistent every year and that methods of killing had a certain consistency, as well:

> Thus, there is a budget which is spent with terrible regularity. That is the budget for prisons, execution grounds, and guillotines…. Just as we can calculate the number of births and deaths in advance, we can estimate in advance how many people will get their hands dirty through their brothers' blood, forgery, or poison.[26]

Beginning with the observation of this kind of statistical regularity in social phenomena, Quetelet insisted, "As we observe a larger number of individuals, the character of the individual disappears more. As a result, the series of general facts which the existence and maintenance of society depend upon becomes clearer." The concept of the "average man" appears as a component in such observations of human collective life, and it is, Quetelet noted, "[I]ndeed, the average man stands in the same relationship to a member of the nation as the center of gravity does to an object." In other words, he believed that an actual man can be understood as a statistical deviation from the average man.[27]

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[25] Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet, *Ningen ni tsuite* [On Man] vol. 1 and 2. trans. Taira Teizo and Yamamura Takashi. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1939-1940.
[26] Quetelet, *Ningen ni tsuite*, vol 1, 25.
[27] Quetelet, *Ningen ni tsuite*, vol. 2, 223.

A year earlier, while crafting and investigating the concept of hygiene in 1890, Mori embarked on another controversy with the statistician Imai Takeo. This controversy began as a discussion about how to translate the word statistics into Japanese, but, eventually, the topic shifted to the essence of statistics.[28] As discussed in the previous chapter, statisticians in the Meiji period considered statistics as a way to investigate the causes of various social phenomena and to identify these causes. Along with Quetelet, they, too, believed that statistics would reveal the "truth" about their society. That is what statisticians called the "law of nature (天法)."

However, Mori criticizes this vague notion of "truth" and argues that statisticians confused statistical facts with truth. Statistics is simply a method to find facts. It can describe the state of objects and people, but it does not show the ways in which such things can be manipulated. What was the implication of this abstract metaphor of the "body of the nation" and of the "average man" as the component of such a "body"?

As discussed above, Mori located knowledge at the center of his conception of hygiene and assumed that such knowledge protects and promotes the health of the body of the nation and that of the average man. This conception necessarily leads to a question: who uses such knowledge and whose health does it actually improve? This question was discussed in the form of how the population and the individual, which Mori represented respectively as the body of the nation and the

[28] Fukui Yukio, "Mori Ogai, tokei yakuji ronso, ekigakutokei" in *Shigaku Ronkyu* vol. 41 (December, 1994), 31-51.

average man, should best be governed. All three of these intellectuals of hygiene, Mori, Nagayo, and Quetelet, faced this question in their discussion of the relation between hygiene and self-government.

Debates concerning the relationship between hygiene and self-government developed particularly after the cholera outbreaks in 1877 and 1879 had subsided and public attention to hygiene administration gradually faded. An argument that, as the necessity of hygiene administration decreased, it should be incorporated into police administration, began circulating and experts of hygiene were prompted to fight back to protect their bureaus and interests. However, as we will see in the following, the theme of hygiene and self-government in this period carried a much deeper implication than the mere survival of a bureaucratic unit within the state administration. For example, Goto Shinpei, who was an officer in the bureau of hygiene in the Home Ministry at that time, discussed how the duty of hygiene should be divided between the local and central governments:

> Generally, since hygienic affairs should take into account of the local conditions in each area, it is desirable that [the central government] confer full authority on local administrations. On the other hand, however, the central bureaus must provide supervision for them. [29]

When describing this ideal form of sharing responsibility, Goto had the British system in mind. Nagayo also praised the British system:

> In Britain, hygiene emerged early on in each self-governing district. Therefore, what the central government did was to make mere adjustments to uneven or unsystematic tasks that the local government had done. Actual

[29] Goto Shinpei, *Eisei seido ron* [Theory of the institution of hygiene] (Tokyo: Goto Shinpei, 1890),
198.

> attempts at hygiene always occurred in a positive manner, and the central government's negative tasks, such as forbidding or controlling something, came afterword.[30]

The local government does "positive" projects, namely, promoting hygiene and raising consciousness about health. In contrast, the central government does supplemental ("negative," according to Nagayo) projects for the local government. Nagayo denounces the French system because it "sees towns and villages as slaves" and its strongly centralized system prevents people from nurturing the "spirit of self-government" or having active health movements.

Furthermore, Nagayo's view on hygiene and self-government partly exceeded the discussion concerning the bureaucratic division of labor and responsibility. Nagayo in fact stated that "self-government and hygiene are composed of identical elements, and [hygiene and self-government are] the same."[31] He argued that if trying to maintain one's existence is a universal characteristic of a living being, and if collective life is a universal way of human living, then, "hygiene is an expression of each individual's concern about loving and protecting oneself." Thus, he insisted that humans will attempt to keep peace and order in their communities based on their notion of self-love, and, that this is the meaning of hygiene. Therefore, wherever proper thought about self-government grows, self-love, love for family, and patriotism constitute an unbroken continuity.[32] Thus, Nagayo's conception of hygiene includes a wide scope, which defines the

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[30] Nagayo Sensai, "Eisei to jichi no Kankei" [Relationships between Hygiene and Self – government] in *Dainihon shiritsu eiseikai zasshi, vol, 59* (1888).
[31] Nagayo, "Eisei to jichi no Kankei," 261.
[32] Nagayo, "Eiseit to jichi no Kankei," 262-263.

entire administration of hygiene as self-government.

Mori Rintaro also joined the discussion concerning hygiene and self-government:

> Public health is a significant goal of the government. People have a right to demand that the government "make us healthy." The government must promise to its people that "we will make you healthy." The only thing we have to do is to make a distinction between the project of hygiene that is to be conducted by the people and the one that is to be conducted by the government, and then hope that we mutually maintain the border between these and never violate it.[33]

Seemingly, what Mori states here does not differ from Nagayo's and Goto's discussions about the institutional division concerning hygiene. The government has its own tasks and the people have theirs; both sides carry out their duties and improve public hygiene. However, why does one hope not to violate the border between the people's and the government's tasks? Which side does Mori think might possibly violate the border, and what happens if either side does so?

As mentioned above, what these statements directly confronted was the re-organization and possible abolition of the Bureau of Hygiene in the Home Ministry. However, when looking at these statements in the context of seeking a new mode of governance through the construction of hygiene, I would argue that, a hidden theme emerges, namely, how to eliminate people's dependence (依頼心). Moreover, how people's dependence was articulated and denounced, in fact, elucidates the meaning of self-governance that is being praised here. Mori's quotation above was taken from the first issue of his New Journal of Hygiene, in

[33] Mori, "Eiseishinshi no shin men moku," 7.

which he explained that he began the journal so that that everyone could take the first step toward "spontaneously grasping power concerning hygiene, eliminating the dependence out of which one demands one's own health from the government, and throwing off the yoke [of immaturity]."[34] For Mori, the problem of people's dependence signified the major obstacle to spreading the idea of hygiene:

> [When cholera prevailed, the government banned selling and buying fruits.] However, since fruits do not mediate the toxicity of the epidemic, the government did not need to stop this. The reason why it banned the trade of fruits was that if people eat too many fruits and hurt their stomachs, they are more susceptible to the epidemic than are healthy people. That was nothing but needless worry for the future. Indeed, these were words of motherly caution. If you are an immature and underdeveloped child, you have to accept such interferences. However, at the dawn of one country, as people of capital, is it desirable to look up to the government and its officials and ask for their protection? <u>If the government provides such protection, it means that the government considers its people as babies. If people do not reject such protection, they are seeing the mother within the government, which shows that their own spirits have not fully developed.</u>[35]

For Mori, the crux of the relationship between hygiene and self-government lies in people's self-learning of hygienic knowledge, and their use of this knowledge in their everyday lives, in order to improving their own lives and, by extension, the life of the population. In order to achieve these things, people's dependence must be eliminated.

In fact, the theme of dependence appears in Nagayo's and Goto's discussions on self-government, as well. While praising the British system of

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[34] Mori, "Eiseishinshi no shin men moku," 5.
[35] Mori, "Eisei shinshi no shin men moku," 2. Stress by Mori.

public health, Nagayo criticizes the German system for wrongly "invoking the spirit of dependence in people's minds, in which case the spread of hygiene in towns and villages based on the spirit of self-government cannot be active." [36] According to Nagayo, in a country of "genuine self-government, the principle that local issues must be solved locally deeply permeates into people's brains."[37] Needless to say, this idea of a local solution to local issues shares something in common with Mori's strict division between the government's and the people's tasks. In addition to this, Goto also warns that "[if the entire hygiene administration is incorporated into police administration], such a decision "will reduce people's will to self-government and foster their dependence."[38]

Thus, while debating the ideal relationship between the life of the population and that of individuals, these experts of hygiene were led to think about the essence and meaning of self-government. All three seem agree that the central issue is people's dependence. The function of the concept of hygiene carried out in this context is to encouraging the initiative for self-government and, at the same time, to limit it by posing the common interest of hygiene and to assume that people will perform what the state would otherwise do. Thus, the concept of hygiene creates a continuity between the central government and people's self-government. The imaginary exchange between people and the government that Mori described—"make us healthy" and "we [the government]

[36] Nagayo, "Eisei to jichi no Kankei."
[37] Nagayo, "Eisei to jichi no Kankei," 263.
[38] Goto, *Eisei seido ron*, 166.

will make you healthy"—should be read as an example of the kind of "harmonious relationship" enabled and staged by the concept of hygiene.

Hygiene and the definition of sovereignty

The emergence of the concepts of population and the individual as a component of population is also connected to the definition of sovereignty via an organic theory of the state. An organic theory of the state considers the state as a living thing, and each individual as a part of the state that carries out its own duty for the state. Hegel's theory of the state, for instance, sees the monarch as an organ of the state, and rejects the conception of a monarch who is external and transcendent to the state. The monarch forms, with its people, an organic body of the state; and the monarch and people are tied together by a single spirit, namely, "God's will," in Hegel's terminology. That is to say, by creating the effect of unity, this theory denies different conflicts within the state and, therefore, bears a strong affinity with the concept of hygiene, which produces continuity between people's self-government and the centralized national government. *Volkskoerper*, or the body of the nation, which Mori borrowed from German terminology and translated into *minku* (民躯), exhibits characteristics of the organic theory of the state. It is worth noting that the word *Volkskoerper* became well known when the Nazi government and its ideologues used it in the context of cleansing. [39]

Carl Schmidt provides a concise explanation and analysis of the function

[39] Boaz Neuman, "Phenomenology of the German People's body (Volkskoerper) and the extermination of the Jewish Body" in *New German Critique. 2012*

and rationality of the organic theory of the state. While emphasizing that the theory appears in a politically charged context, he enumerates its seven elements:

1. Non-mechanical: what is opposed to the "organic" are all kinds of ideas that consider the state as instrumental, including metaphors of state-machinery and state as an administrative apparatus, centralized bureaucracy, and identification between the state and its bureaucracy.
2. Non-external: a monarch that stands above or outside the state loses its transcendent characteristic, and, as such, is incorporated into the state. The monarch becomes an organ. In this sense, the word "organic" is useful for the nineteenth-century attempts in the history of spirit that generally succeeded in immanently explaining the state and the world."
3. Non-top-down: The state exists not in the command of the ruler but within the common intention of all the members of the state. The state is not a dominion but a cooperative association, not authoritarian but a republic. That is, it is constructed from below and it is a democracy….
4. Non-forcible: the word "organic" has the opposite meaning of strife or decision. It includes various tendencies that contrast with revolution, such as compromise, agreement, debate, evolution, and so on. This can be associated with the aforementioned liberal ideas.
5. Non-atomic or non-individualistic: in this case, the word "organic" confronts liberal ideas and becomes groupism, but also denies the personal government of a king….
6. Non-particularistic: This means totalitarian, but the unity of the whole means centralism, as opposed to federalism, in actual politics. This can also mean the denial of the democratic party state.
7. Lastly, "organic" means the opposite of all active and conscious entities. It would serve all kinds of historicism, government-centralism, indifferent attitudes and could end in complete agnosticism. [40]

Points Three, Four, and Five are reminiscent of the hygiene experts' theorization of the relationship between the central government and self-government, because the continuity between these two implies people's initiatives. But by defining them as anticipatory actions toward a government goal—namely, hygiene—self-government is limited within the scope of the state. In other words, possible

[40] Carl Schmitt, "Hugo Preuss" in ed. Nagao Ryuichi *Karu shumitto chosaku shu 2*. Translation of *Hugo Preuss - Sein Staatsbegriff und seine Stellung in der deutschen Staatslehre*. Tokyo: Jigakusha shuppan, 2007, 224-225.

conflicts between the central government and self-government are cancelled out.

The organic theory of the state provided Japanese intellectuals in the early Meiji period with a way to understand and interpret the modern concept of the state. Somewhat similar to *Volkskoerper*, the concept of *kokutai* or the national polity appeared at the center of the discussion. Since the promulgation of the new Constitution, legal scholars had continually studied and disputed about the organic theory of the state. One of the most significant topics was the definition of the emperor. Particularly, in the 1910s, those, such as Uesugi Shinkichi, who hoped to find in the Constitution some rationale for the superiority of the emperor refuted this theory, which enabled the view that the emperor was a mere functionary of the state. However, Goto's organic theory of the state, published in 1890, is strangely silent about the emperor. In his *The Principle of State Hygiene*, in which he declared that the concept of hygiene re-defines sovereignty, he explained the role of the sovereign:

> This sovereign prevents the shortage of necessary articles for each individual's rational life in society, namely hygiene and avoidance of the escalation of harm. It provides numerous necessities in society, eliminates obstacles for each individual's productivity, and maintains these conditions. When necessary, it emphatically encourages people's united efforts, promotes those efforts, always attempts to supply necessary materials, does not idly leave to take its own course, and protects the population and its material production. [41]

Interestingly, Goto did not wonder where to place the emperor in his theorization of the state, but simply defined the sovereign as taking care of the population,

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[41] Goto, *Kokka eisei genri*, [Principles of National Hygiene] (Tokyo: Goto Shinpei, 1889), 7.

namely, to serve hygiene. He wrote, "as nutrition science exists for the body and mind, financial affairs exists for the state. Financial affairs, agriculture, commerce, and engineering, all these things are indirect methods of hygiene and remote causes of human life and death";[42] and he stated that the ultimate goal of hygiene is "physiological integrity," which means "the healthy function of the mind, nerves, sensory organs, the limbs and the body, reproduction, and the nutritional supply. In addition, control of external harm [to the body] and no shortage in one's life. "[43]

It is important to note that Goto's hygienic theory of the state does not argue *against* the emperor's sovereignty. However, by giving the highest priority to the concept of hygiene or physiological integrity, he assumes that the emperor functions as a caretaker for the population. Indeed, Goto's version of the organic theory of the state fits Schmidt's description of the organic theory of the state quite well. The sovereign now takes the position of the guardian of the population and pays close attention to material supplies for it. The concept of hygiene enabled Goto to presuppose a value system, which apparently does not undermine the interests of either the people's self-government or the central government. More precisely, by proposing a certain totality, his theory significantly blurs the border between the central government and local or self-government.

Such conceptions of hygiene and physiological integrity did not remain in philosophical discussions concerning the definition of the state, but these concepts eventually found another way to substantiate themselves. Debates

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[42] Goto, *Kokka eisei genri*, 23.
[43] Goto, *Kokka eisei genri*, 16.

concerning the organic theory of the state in this period were deeply intertwined with the spread of social Darwinism. Goto affirmed that, "all living creatures are exposed to competition" and emphasized that that is why hygiene is a crucial part of human life:[44]

> Each animal species fights for what is proper for its hygiene. This is right and good…. Among human society and individuals, too, superiors win and inferiors lose. This is the survival of the fittest, the so-called struggle for existence.[45]

In this passage, Goto simply overlaps hygiene with the principle of the struggle for existence. However, Mori's view of the relationship between Spencerian social Darwinism and the concept of hygiene is more complicated. Mori considers Spencer and his social Darwinism anti-"hygienic," because Spencer warned that the protection of the weak potentially harms the life of species. In other words, facilities for hygiene would let weak people continue to live, consume resources that would otherwise nurture healthy individuals, and reproduce weak individuals. Mori, however, refutes Spencer:

> The protection of hygiene nurtures the strong as well. Consider the prevention of typhoid, for example. As a result of getting this disease or receiving an unfavorable prognosis, some people become weaker. The practice of hygiene can prevent such disease.[46]

What is important here is not the difference among Goto, Spencer, Mori, and other hygiene specialists. What matters is the shared hygienic imagination that provides

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[44] Goto, *Kokka eisei genri*, 15.
[45] Goto, *Kokka eisei genri*, 84-5.
[46] Mori, *Eisei shinpen*, 11.

the idea that "the weak threaten the entire species," because this idea began with statistical conceptions of the population and the individual, which could be substantiated by statistical data. Mori goes on:

> As Spencer said, considering the increase of cavities and myopia, degeneration—the deterioration of the average condition of people's bodies and minds in civilized countries—might be truly happening…. If we want to solve this problem, first and foremost, the state must systematically produce statistics…. Studies of hygiene that conduct research on degeneration are called racial hygiene.[47]

Once data is produced experts can discuss not only a slightly hyperbolic topic such as the degeneration of species but, for example, the longevity and health of the Japanese. "The best way to discern whether or not people are healthy is to calculate the average lifespan," Mori stated, and predicted that the average longevity of the Japanese male, which was 43.97 years at that time, must be extended to 70 or 80 years. Mori indicated that this should be the objective of hygiene. Mori disagrees with Spenser's somewhat eugenic understanding of social Darwinism, but he does not particularly deny the existence of competition and the possibility that he would accept Spenser's idea if it were statistically proved. Social Darwinism, the belief in omnipresent competition, is connected to administration by statistical thinking.

Conclusion

Statistical thinking underpinned the construction of hygiene by crafting its

[47] Mori, *Eisei shinpen*, 11.

object of care, which is population and its component individuals, and helped to substantiate the narrative of hygiene by providing data. The concept of hygiene today does not have as broad a scope as Mori's textbook of hygiene suggested, and we do not think of issues of sovereignty in relation to the concept of hygiene. However, what was constructed under the rubric of hygiene still has validity, because the concept of hygiene, underpinned by statistical thinking, enabled us to see both the population set and individuals as *a resource*.

> You maybe say that capital means trust and money, but that is secondary capital. The primary capital is a living human, his life, his mind and body….Thus, the relationship between hygiene and capital is nothing but the relationship between life and health and hygiene. [48]

Even when arguing against Spencer, who insisted on abandoning the weak to save the population, Mori did so based not on the idea of human rights but for the sake of better saving the population. In fact, the concept of hygiene as mediated by statistical thinking implicitly suggests that one can discover what is most cost-effective. "We experts of hygiene know that health immediately means money," Mori declared, and went on to present detailed calculations about how much economic loss one "average" patient can possibly produce, how much money the city of Tokyo must spend in order to compensate that loss, and, if the city or the patient tries to prevent a disease, how much they need to spend to do so.[49] Thus, the construction of hygiene gradually drew the terminology of the economy into

[48] Goro Shinpei "Eiesei to shihon" in *Dainihon shiritsu eiseikai zasshi* vol. 157 (1896), 608.
[49] Mori, "Eisei shinshi no shin men moku," 5.

the field of administration. The economy in this case no longer means "enlightened rule and succor of the people." It is, as Mori suggested, the economy as the calculation of profits and losses, namely, the economy of counting money.

Chapter 3:

Policing the Colony:

The First Census in Colonial Taiwan

Beginning with the arrival of statistics in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, and particularly from the 1880s on, Japanese intellectuals had a dream: the implementation of a nationwide census. To them, this was a social experiment that would unearth the "truth" about their country. It could, they thought, eventually lay a foundation for scientific, rational government. Nevertheless, politicians hardly shared statisticians' excitement and enthusiasm. It took nearly two decades for the Meiji government to finally begin planning to implement a census in 1902. Keeping in step with several foreign countries that had already conducted censuses, Japan scheduled its first national census to be conducted in 1905 throughout all territories of its empire, including Okinawa, Hokkaido, South Sakhalin, and Taiwan, in addition to Japan proper. Yet, unfortunately for spirited statisticians, the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905 caused financial difficulties and interrupted this decades-long dream. The census required an enormous budget, a relatively stable social order, and well-trained census-takers; thus, a wartime census was not ideal, and the Japanese Imperial Diet decided to suspend the project. The 1905 census was postponed indefinitely amidst the financial crisis, and did not see the light of the day for another fifteen years until 1920.

However, there was one exception: colonial Taiwan—Japan's first census on October 1, 1905, conducted under its colonial rule. This exception raises the question of whether conditions in Taiwan were, in fact, entirely different from those in Japan. The islands of Taiwan and Penghu were ceded from China's Qing Dynasty to Japan in 1895, with the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, following the Sino-Japanese War. Yet, during its first five years, in particular, colonial rule in Taiwan was extremely brutal and bloody. As a matter of fact, following the end of the war, in May of 1895 the Taiwanese people declared independence for the Republic of Formosa, fiercely resisting Japanese military occupation.[1]

The Republic of Formosa, however, survived for only five months, between May and October of 1895, and organized resistance ended with the fall of Tainan, at the southern tip of the island. In the five months of resistance against the Japanese army, approximately 14,000 Taiwanese were killed.[2] However, resistance did not disappear. Even after the fall of the short-lived republic, armed indigenous people and *Han* militias, which the Japanese derogatorily called "*dohi*" (土匪, local rebels) or "*hito*"(匪徒, bandits) were continually active, particularly in the mountainous areas in the central part of the island. Facing such unexpectedly

[1] For the details on Taiwanese resistance following the declaration of the Republic of Formosa, see, for example, Fujimura Michio, *Nisshin senso: higashi ajia kindaishi no tenkanten* [The First Sino-Japanese War: a turning point in the history of East Asia], (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973/1982) 194-202. Harada Keiichi, *Nisshin senso* [The First Sino-Japanese War], (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2008) 273-284.

[2] Nomura Haruka, "Making the Japanese Empire: Nationality and Family Register in Taiwan, 1871-1899," in *Japanese Studies* 30-1, (2010), 74.

firm defiance, Japan convened the colonial government as a military regime, keeping part of its military provision active, even after declaring the termination of hostilities in 1896 and beginning the transition from a military regime to civil administration. Such an unstable situation continued for a long time, and scattered military conflicts continually caused damage to Japanese forces until around 1915.[3] Thus, during the summer of 1905 while a Japanese newspaper, *Taiwan nichi nichi shinpo*, reported progress in preparations, it also published a series of articles concerning the suppression of local rebels, called *daihyo-ban* (大豹蕃), in the northern part of the island (*Sānjiǎoyǒng* area).[4] Therefore, the situation in Taiwan was far from peaceful, and not at all ideal for conducting a census.

Such violently oppressive rule of the colony imposed a huge economic burden on the mainland government, and, much worse, instability in the colony meant no revenue, either. Thus, in the early stages of colonization, Japanese newspapers increasingly decried the government's inability to deal with this newly acquired territory, and often described Taiwan as an "enormous burden for the domestic treasury," even calling it as "trouble for the country." One newspaper went so far as to recommend selling Taiwan to a European country.[5] Amid mounting criticism, Prime Minister Matsukata Masayoshi and his entire cabinet

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[3] The Tapani Incident, one of the largest uprisings in the history of Japan's colonial rule in Taiwan, occurred in June, 1915. Ito Kiyoshi, *Taiwan: yonhyakunen no rekishi to tenbo* [Taiwan: four hundred year of history and future prospects], (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 2007), 97-98.
[4] *Taiwan nichi nichi shinpo* [Taiwan daily news], July 27, 1905, 2.
[5] Ito, *Taiwan*, 80.

were forced to resign, after attempting to increase taxes in Japan in order to solve financial problems caused by this newly acquired colony. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that the colonial government was suffering severely from the enormous costs of establishing and maintaining security and order in Taiwan, and that conditions in Taiwan were far from appropriate for undertaking a census.

To be sure, the budget for the census in Taiwan might have been smaller than that expected for mainland Japan, considering the relative size of the territory and its population, not to mention labor costs. Nevertheless, this would not mean that conducting a census in Taiwan would be easy or inexpensive. In fact, the colonial government did not achieve financial independence from the mainland until 1905, and the budget for the colonial census had to pass the Japanese Imperial Diet. Thus, it might have been much more reasonable for Japan to cancel the 1905 census altogether, including Taiwan. Nonetheless, the criteria used for postponing Japan's census were not applied to Taiwan. Under the leadership of Governor Goto Shinpei, the colonial government continued preparing for the census, and conducted it in October 1905, nearly two decades before the first census was finally conducted in mainland Japan. What prompted colonial officials in Taiwan to conduct the census, and what were its historical implications?

Through examining Japan's first census in colonial Taiwan, this chapter explores Japanese officials' and intellectuals' conceptualization of the object of modern governance, namely, population, at a particular historical juncture of

Japan's imperial expansion and the development of modern science. Focusing on the period immediately following the commencement of civil administration in Taiwan, it argues that Japanese colonial officials' discussions of the 1905 census in Taiwan, particularly their concerns about collective bodies of people in colonial territory, testified to a new rationality of governance, characterized by an orientation toward "productiveness" and "development," as a whole. Looking into the project of this census, we see the emergence of a new rationality of governance. Such a mode of governance cooperated with a violent form of governance, which never disappeared throughout the entire history of Japan's occupation of Taiwan.

Theoretical Framework

In order to make a clear distinction between these two different modes of governance and reveal their characteristics, this chapter employs a concept of "government" provided by Michel Foucault. Government, according to his definition, is "a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons."[6] Foucault himself connected this concept solely with matters within the European world, and did not test it in colonial contexts.[7] This chapter, thus, is partly involved with such a theoretical investigation, aiming at

[6] Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction" in *The Foucault Effect*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 2.

[7] Sakai Naoki and John Solomon, "Introduction: Addressing the Multitude of Foreigners, Echoing Foucault" in *Traces Vol. 4: Translation, Biopolitics, Colonial Difference*, ed. Naoki Sakai and John Solomon, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006).

examining its validity in non-European and, in particular, colonial contexts.

Its primary focus, however, is on the question with which Foucault struggled in his article "*Omnes et Singulatim* [Totalizing and Individualizing]:" What is modern government? He argues that a new form of power, described as "power/knowledge," appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, replacing traditional techniques of governance. In support of this notion, Foucault cites Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, one of the leading German political economists in the eighteenth century, who studied administration, explaining the shift in modes of governance through von Justi's work:

> First, Von Justi defines much more clearly what the central paradox of *police* is. The police, he says, is what enables the state to increase its power and exert its strength to the full. On the other hand, the police has to keep the citizens happy – happiness being understood as survival, life, and improved living…. Von Justi then draws a distinction between this task, which he calls *Polizei*, as do his contemporaries, and *Politik, Die Politik*. Die *Politik* is basically a negative task. It consists in the state's fighting against its internal and external enemies. *Polizei*, however, is a positive task: it has to foster both citizens' lives *and* the state's strength.[8]

In this article, Foucault implies that the focus of modern governance shifted from this coercive and violent form (*Politik*) to a form that develops human capability (*Polizei*), which defines "*Polizei*" as a rationality of modern government.

Furthermore, Foucault characterizes the modern government of *Polizei* as incorporating three aspects: totalitarian nature, individualization, and productiveness. The totalitarian aspect suggests that modern government has a

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[8] Michel Foucalt, "Omnes et Singulatim: Toward a Critique of Political Reason," in *Power* (New York: New Press, 2000) ed. J. D. Faion, 298-325.

tendency to expand its power beyond what directly threatens itself, and permeate various human activities, such as "work, production, exchange, and accommodation." Individualization refers to a direction of power that concerns the bodies of active and productive individuals and places such individual bodies under surveillance and control. Lastly, the productive aspect means that power does not simply oppress the ruled but operates to strengthen its (his or her) productivity. Foucault expresses this particular characteristic as: "Totalizing and Individualizing."

Numerous studies have been conducted regarding the power of "individualization" in the colonial context. Among these, projects concerned with the history of education, medicine, public health, and prison systems under Japan's colonial government, for instance, have shown that such a mode of power was effectively mobilized in colonies as well as on the mainland.[9] However, the manner in which "totalizing" power operated in the colony remains less understood, partly because it rarely left immediately visible traces of violence, which appear more clearly in cases of individualizing power. This chapter, thus, challenges this invisibility by presenting the census project in colonial Taiwan. What materialized in the census project was the effort of "totalizing" power to strengthen productivity as a whole. In the process, what Foucault distinguished as "*Politik*" and "*Polizei*" actually coexisted, supporting and requiring each other rather efficiently. By focusing on such collusion in a census project, the chapter

[9] Hui-yu Caroline Cai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire-Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

further sheds light on the colonial nature of "totalizing" power, regardless of whether it manifested in colony or metropole. In this chapter, the institutionalized police force is called "the police" or "police force," and "*Politik*" and "*Polizei*" are used to refer modes of governance, unless stated otherwise.

Coercive and Nurturing Power in Japan

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of *Polizei,* focusing on "improvement" as a whole, had been a common topic among Japanese elites, who were interested in the construction of a new social order under the new Meiji government. For example, a leading Japanese intellectual, Fukuzawa Yukichi, translated the entry for "police" in *The New American Cyclopedia*, and explained it as follows: "[The police] takes care of diseases and good health of the society, prevents and detects small crimes such as thefts and swindles, and regulates juvenile delinquency."[10] Fukuzawa emphasizes that it is a kind of civil force, distinct from military power.[11] This meaning was almost the same as that of the English term, but the German word "*Polizei*" often signified the entire administration and government, and, as a fundamental logic of governance, covered all aspects of people's everyday lives.

Indeed, various historical documents from this period show lists concerning of tasks to be conducted by the police as parts of *Polizei*. An official police document in 1875, for instance, described the duty of the police as such:

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[10] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Torishimari no ho" [The Law of Police] in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu* vol. 20, [The complete works of Fukuzawa Yukichi](Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963), 54-62.
[11] Fukuzawa, "Torishimari no ho," 54.

"Regulation of education, land registration, abortion, public entertainment, fire prevention, poor relief, cremation, prayers, haircuts, sexual relationships, unnatural deaths and national flags." [12] What connected these diverse, seemingly random, pieces of social, cultural, and political tasks of the police/*Polizei* concerning people's everyday lives?

The commonality shared by these objects of *Polizei* points to collective human life. Most items on the list are under licensing systems or regulated by special laws today, and the idea of *Polizei* that spread in the early Meiji period underlies these objects of individual regulation. They were regulated precisely because, collectively, they could bring harm to society. Goto Shinpei, governor of colonial Taiwan, clearly saw this point. He was a fervent advocate of police/*Polizei*. Born in 1857 in Iwate, in the northeastern part of Japan, Goto studied public health and *Polizeiwissenschaft* (science of *Polizei*) in Germany. Prior to his career in colonial Taiwan, he became a doctor of medicine, and acquired various positions in government in the fields of medical and public health administration. As an expert on modern administration, Goto believed in the concept of *Polizei* as the core of modern human life:

> We must establish methods by which the government supplements each individual's lack of ability and makes individuals more efficient. All such efforts should be covered by *police*….Even if people can live out their lives at peace without the help of the judiciary, they cannot maintain their lives,

[12] Obinata Sumio, *Nihon kindaikokka no seiritsu to keisatsu* [The establishment of the modern state and police in Japan] (Tokyo: Azekura shobo, 1992), 173.

even for a moment, without the protection of good police.[13]

Adopting the European viewpoint, Goto viewed "*Polizei*" as a positive and productive force, capable of securing and improving people's lives. Indeed, the police were deeply engaged in people's everyday lives in Taiwan under his governance. Recent studies on Japan's colonial administration have revealed various duties carried out by colonial police, from the maintenance of infrastructure to control of epidemics.[14] The 1905 census was one such duty. In fact, as we see below, even high-ranking police officers participated in the project from outset through implementation.

Such a concept of *Polizei* and the spread of the police force into many aspects of people's daily lives are clearly modern phenomena. According to Obinata Sumio, historian of the police system in Japan, the primary differences between the modern police system and that of the pre-modern period lie in the system's centralization, with systematic surveillance of and intervention into people's everyday lives.[15] As existing studies have suggested, the colonial police force concerned itself with different aspects of people's daily lives, from morals and customs to health and medical issues, at home and at work. In other words, the institutionalized police in the territory formed a power that reached into

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[13] Goto Shinpei*, Kokka eisei geri* [Hygiene as the Principle of the State] (Tokyo: Sozo shinsha, 1978), 103-104.

[14] Ching-chih Chen, "Police and Community Control Systems in the Empire" in The Japanese colonial empire, 1895-1945 in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, ed. Ramon Hawley Myers et. al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

[15] Obinata Sumio, *Kindai Nihon no Keisatsu to Chikishakai* [The establishment of the modern state and police in Japan] (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 2000), 4-28.

individuals' bodies and protected them through food regulation, vaccinations, control of prostitutes, and maintenance of water supplies and sewerage.[16]

Needless to say, however, this did not mean that the colonial police force stopped exercising coercive power, or that it came to engage solely in the work of *Polizei*. On the contrary, Goto and his government abandoned their military-centered policy for maintaining social order in 1898, and reorganized the police force to maintain security. Under the rule of Kodama and Goto, the police force quickly expanded and prosecuted more than 32,000 "local rebels," more than one percent of the entire population of Taiwan, within their first five years of governance.[17]

Moreover, the police force operated at the core of a mutual surveillance system among Taiwanese residents called the *baojia* system (保甲制度). This system also began in 1898, based on the administration regime of the Quing government. By introducing the idea of collective responsibility, this system divided a local community into multiple units and facilitated mutual surveillance and denunciation within the unit. The police force, which had control over each unit, effectively used secret information collected through this system in order to identify local rebels. Furthermore, as will be described below, this *baojia* system played an important role in the census.

In contrast to these two functions of the police force, violent oppression and controlling individuals' bodies, the census project reveals a different aspect,

16 Chen, "Police and Community Control System in the Empire," 227-229.
17 Ito, *Taiwan*, 87.

pointing toward management of people's lives on a collective level. A number of historians and historical sociologists have mentioned the 1905 census in Taiwan, but its position in historical narratives has been largely overlooked.[18] Firstly, one such study compared the 1905 census in Taiwan to other survey projects conducted by the Japanese colonial government during the early colonial period.[19] While sometimes referring to it as a mass-scale survey project comparable to the land survey and traditional custom survey that directly helped to construct the foundation for managing the colony, the position of the 1905 census and its historical implications have remained ambiguous. Secondly, another context in which historical accounts of the 1905 census appear is found in research regarding the *baojia* system.[20] This system lay at the core of the governance of its territory and local population and maintenance of social order. The census handily utilized this system, particularly because it determined administrative jurisdictions, which eventually functioned as basic units for census taking. In sum, although the 1905 census has not been neglected completely, existing literature

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[18] See, for instance, Sato Masahiro, *Kokusei chosa to nihonkindai* [Census and modern Japan], (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002) and *Teikoku nihon to tokeichosa* [Imperial Japan and statistical survey], (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2012).

[19] Tomita Akira, for example, focuses on the representation of "races" (種族) in the colonial census. See, Tomita, "Taiwan Sotokufu no "Shuzoku", Gengoninshiki [Terminology concerning "race" in the government-general office of Taiwan]" in *Shokuminchi no Chosen to Taiwan: Rekishi, bunkajinruigakuteki kenkyu* [Korea and Taiwan as colonies: historical and anthropological research] (Tokyo: Daiichi shobo, 2007), 115-148, and "1905-nen rinji taiwan koko chosa to 'naichi jin' no shisen [the 1905 special house-hold survey from Japanese eyes]" in *Taiwan no kindai to nihon* [Taiwanese modernity and Japan] (Nagoya: Chukyo daigaku shakaikagaku kenkyujo, 2003), 101-120. Tomita's research is not specifically concerning the census itself, but use it as a sample that reveals the Japanese elites' idea of race.

[20] Huiyu Cai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire-Building*.

has remained silent regarding its historical implications.[21]

Creating the Census in Japan

While it remained merely a plan, a bill regarding the census passed the Imperial Diet in 1902, and this marked the emergence of a peculiar vision of humanity in both the metropole and colonies: All people in Japan's colonies had to be intelligible in the same manner as residents of the metropole. Using indexes such as age, sex, marital status, occupation, and so forth, this plan presupposed a certain homogeneity, making all residents in the territory actually countable as residents. Once implemented, the census would produce what looked like a whole, called "population," perceivable only through a social scientific lens.

As described in the previous chapter, since encountering statistics in the late Tokugawa period, government researcher had been attracted to this new means of understanding their society. With the arrival of a number of journals and books about natural and social sciences, the idea of a statistical survey of population, namely the census, also traveled to Japan. Intellectuals were fascinated by such a scientific means of observing social phenomena, as described in these documents. By 1880, Japanese statisticians had organized a statistical association, *Hyoki gakusha* [Association for Statistics], and begun publishing a monthly journal. Not only scholars, but prominent people from various spheres,

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[21] One excellent exception is Yao Jen-To's "The Japanese Colonial State and Its Form of Knowledge in Taiwan" in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule 1895-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 37-61. It locates the census in various surveys conducted by the colonial government and analyzes the peculiarities of colonial knowledge-production.

including politics, business, bureaucracy, and industries, contributed articles, and the association and its journal provided the basis for the campaign for a census. Statisticians and their supporters eventually submitted the proposal for Japan's first census in 1886.

With the strong support of a group of intellectuals and businessmen—particularly personalities interested in various forms of insurance business, like Shibusawa Eiichi—statisticians actively organized study groups, and continued pushing the Meiji government to introduce the census. Prominent statistician Okamatsu Kai stressed the neutrality of statistics and its importance in the coming constitutional monarchy by insisting that statistics is an "instrument [for politics] that cannot be bent for illicit gains and cannot succumb to authority."[22] Another statistician, Yokoyama Masao, argued that the new population survey was far more important for the new constitutional regime than the land survey and registration because knowing the exact number of people that one delegate represents is a serious problem in a parliamentary system.[23]

Thus, by the time the Meiji Constitution, which formally institutionalized a semi-democratic process of policy-making and authorized open discussions on political matters at the Imperial Diet, was promulgated in 1889, many statisticians believed that the age of statistics had finally begun in Japan, and that, sooner or

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[22] Okamatsu Kai, "Toukei no kankyu" [Statistics in circumstances] in *Tokei shushi* [Taiwan statistical journal] (Taipei: Taiwan tokei kyokai [Taiwan statistical association], vol. 18, (1883, February), 46.

[23] Yokoyama Masao, "Jinko shirabe o ikagasen" [what should we do with the population survey?] in *Tokei shushi*, vol. 83, (1888, July), 238.

later, all forms of political discussion would come to rely on statistical data and analysis, which would be provided by the national census. Aforementioned statistician Okamatsu, for instance, published an article entitled "The observatory of the new political regime" in March, 1889, immediately following the promulgation of the new constitution. He opened the article by saying that once the new political regime began, there would be the possibility that the ruler and ruled would not agree sometimes, and both sides would need neutral knowledge, namely statistical data, to rely on. He predicted that the "more the new polity develops, politicians will hope to know more about the real situation of the whole [country]."[24]

Contrary to statisticians' somewhat wishful expectations, however, politicians discussed the necessity of the census merely in terms of national pride. A member of the Upper House, Yanagisawa Yasutoshi, for example, stated:

> For the sake of the dignity of our country, which has been called a civilized country in Asia, we must know each element composing of the country. This is not a personal view on this matter, but as a sincere patriot, I believe that the census is the most urgent issue today.[25]

However, it was difficult for politicians who did not have specialized knowledge of statistics to conceive the real significance of the national census. After all, following the Meiji Restoration, the Meiji government had already conducted various kinds of survey projects to establish the basis of a modern state. These

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[24] Okamatsu Kai, "Shin seitai nosokko ki" [The observatory of the new political regime] in *Tokei shushi*, vol 92, (April 1889), 128-129.

[25] *Sorifu tokeikyoku hyakunenshi shiryo shusei* [Collection of materials on the hundred-year history of the Bureau of Statistics of the Prime Minister's office] (Tokyo: Japan Prime Minister's Office; Bureau of Statistics, 1976), 593.

included the family registration system, which was used for conscription and taxation beginning in 1872, as well as the land registration system following land tax reform in 1873. While receiving minor modifications, for the most part, these accomplished their original purposes. Furthermore, they functioned quite well for other purposes, such as public education and public health policy.[26]

Therefore, the majority of Japanese elites initially saw no point in conducting another comprehensive national survey throughout their territory when statisticians began petitioning for the introduction of a census in the mid-1880s. Moreover, while emphasizing that data to be collected in the census would contribute to various forms of administrative- and state-level planning, statisticians did not hesitate to admit that the census would not provide direct and immediate benefits for the country. The census, they explained, was a long-term national project that would eventually describe the country and society as it was, revealing the "truth" of the society.[27]

This vision of politics governed by statistical "truth," however, failed to impress most members of the political elite who held power over the distribution of state funding, even though some scholarly-minded elites embraced the idea and image of the scientist as the ideal ruler of society. Frustrated with the government's slow pace, statisticians began sending petitions and proposals

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[26] Ishii Ryosuke, *Ie to koseki no rekishi* [History of *ie* and family registration], (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1981). Endo Masataka, *Kindai nihon no shokuminchi tochi ni okeru kokuseki to koseki: Manshu, Kankoku, Taiwan* [Nationality and Family registration under Japan's colonial rule: Manchuria, Korea, Taiwan], (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2010).

[27] See chapter 1.

urging introduction of the census. One such petition read:

> The population survey is a significant national project. In fact, it is necessary for the politics and economy of the country. Considering the histories of other countries, all civilized countries with a well-organized government conduct population surveys, and it is the responsibility of the government. Knowing the general strength of the people—their physical strength, intelligence, customs, economies, and industries—is the most urgent task of the government. Therefore, we must establish the same methods of population survey as we found in European countries and include them in the laws of the country.[28]

Statisticians' logic, flattering national pride while emphasizing international standards, worked well. The government had no problem comprehending the essence of "knowing the country," and, thus, eventually accepted and institutionalized the idea, establishing and expanding the Bureau of Statistics within the government in the late 1880s.[29] Still, many politicians continued to have difficulties in understanding scientific ideas and the meaning of the census. While specialists believed that the census should be undertaken in such a way that census-takers must visit each household and count individuals one by one, such a view was not taken seriously, and many politicians largely ignored statisticians' efforts to differentiate the census from other kinds of population surveys.[30]

This situation changed with the arrival of a letter from Europe in 1895. This letter, which drastically altered the government's attitude toward the census, was from Louis Guillaume, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Statistics of Switzerland, on behalf of the International Statistical Institute, and addressed to

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[28] *Sorifu tokeikyoku hyakunenshi shiryo shusei,*193.
[29] Shimamura, *Nihon tokei hattatsu shi,* 22-23.
[30] Sato, *Kokuseichosa to nihonkindai*, 21-41.

the chief of the Statistics Division in the Cabinet of the Meiji government.[31] It described a resolution of the fifth conference of the International Statistical Institute held at Bern, Switzerland, requesting that the Japanese government conduct a national census in 1900, simultaneously with all of the Western countries. Although the International Statistical Institute was not a major academic institute in Europe, the Japanese government, which had been extremely sensitive about Japan's position in the international context, decided to respond to the request.

The Japanese Imperial Diet finally passed and legally institutionalized a bill concerning the census in 1902. This bill prescribed that Japan would conduct its first national census on October 1, 1905, throughout its empire, including Okinawa, Hokkaido, South Sakhalin, and Taiwan. However, at the end of 1904, following the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the Imperial Diet began revising its plans for the 1905 census, primarily due to the budget crisis arising from the Russo-Japanese War. The revised version of the 1905 census bill stated: "Under current conditions, not only due to budgetary concerns but the fact that population and occupations are not normal because of the war, it is impossible to consider the year of 1905 as a proper time to conduct the census."[32] Hence, Japan's first census was postponed indefinitely, and ended up being shelved until 1920.

Observing the fate of this aborted census project, it is reasonable to say that

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[31] *Sorifu tokeikyoku hyakunenshi shiryo shusei,* 201-205.
[32] *Sorifu tokeikyoku hyakunenshi shiryo shusei, 972-978*

discussions about the census in mainland Japan, which mostly developed along the lines of knowledge production concerning the state, did not find a niche in on-going political discussions. After all, the last step for the introduction of the census to Japan was brought about by Japanese elites' concerns about Japan's presence in the world, rather than an actual understanding of or need for a census. Furthermore, when the budget crisis arose due to the war, the census project was easily and quickly abandoned. Nonetheless, the case of colonial Taiwan provides a different view on the census at that time.

Census-Making in Colonial Taiwan

Conventionally, existing literature concerning Japan's empire and colonialism, alongside colonial studies in other areas, has provided two different perspectives in terms of the study of government and administration. The first emphasizes persistent pre-modern conditions in the colony, which often resulted in the use of physical violence on people there, often clarifying and emphasizing the colonial government's double-standard in the practice of governing metropole and colonies.[33] The second looks at the colony as a "laboratory of the modern," in which colonial countries carried out new technologies of governance and experimental attempts at social engineering, which could not be introduced in the

[33] Concerning these two perspectives, see Umemori Naoyuki, "Henso suru gavamento: 20 seiki shoto ni okeru taiwan to kankoku no keibatsu, chian kiko" [variation of government: punishment and security system in Korea and Taiwan in the early 20th century] in *Tiekoku nihon no gakuchi* [Knowledge and Imperial Japan], (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006).

metropole due to social and political constraints.[34]

To be sure, which image more correctly reflects the historical situation in Japan's empire would be a significant question to ponder. Yet, what this section tries to show is somewhat different. It reveals that the process of data collection and production was a mélange of ad hoc factors, but with an underlying rationality beneath them. In other words, methods of data collection and production in the 1905 census greatly differed from what Japanese statisticians discussed and planned under the name of a census, though they seemed to point to a similar direction in terms of understanding and governing people.

During the time when he was head of the Sanitation bureau at the Home Ministry, Goto Shinpei sent a letter to the Japanese government urging the establishment of a census in Japan. Goto was a firm believer in science as a tool of government and considered scientific investigation of the state necessary for governance.[35] When the Japanese Imperial Diet passed the 1902 census bill, he was colonial governor of Taiwan. He often told people around him:

> We are imperfect servants of God, but we want to be sincere servants. By using statistical methods such as so-called mass observation, we will be able to infer the divine will and diligently study the truth of the universe.[36]

It is easy to hear the echo of statisticians who dreamed of the census for the sake of science. However, Goto's viewpoint had a close and practical connection to

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[34] A rare exception is the penal provision against false returns in census-taking. Sato Masahiro, *Kokusei chosa to nihon kindai*.
[35] Tshurumi Yusuke, *Goto Shinpei* (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1965) Vol. 2, 400.
[36] Tshurumi, *Goto Shinpei* (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1965), 399.

ruling the colony that went beyond academic interests. After arriving in Taiwan in 1898, Goto and his superior, Governor-General Kodama Genjiro, conducted a survey of traditional customs (*kyukan chosa*) as well as a land survey to establish a taxation system. Their underlining aim was to rule the Taiwanese population effectively through use of their own administrative customs. For Goto, the census was another chance to obtain new views of the colony, meaning a new way of governing the area more efficiently.

That is why the colonial government in Taiwan readily responded to the bill of 1902 that prescribed the first national census, and began preparing for the implementation of the project in 1903. Goto swiftly created a division for the 1905 census in the colonial government, became its director himself, and appointed the Commander-in-Chief of Police Inspectors, Oshima Kumaji, as vice-director, and prominent statistician Mizushina Shichisaburo as manager.[37] This combination—the head of the colonial police and an elite statistician—epitomizes the 1905 census, because all census data were collected by policemen, and the entire process of the census was, in fact, the result of efficient collaboration between police and expert statisticians. Japanese policemen attended workshops offered by the Taiwan statistical association to be census takers, and were instructed to meet each resident in a household individually instead of merely recording what

[37] Tsurumi, *Goto Shipei*, 819-822.

the head of the household said about his family members.[38] The ubiquitous presence of the police force drew people's attention and led to certain criticism. Some even labeled it "*Saaberu shugi* [saber-ism]," referring to the means of getting information from the local Taiwanese by threatening them with saber. However, in a practical sense, a census-taker had to speak the local languages in Taiwan, and, thus, many local police officers were commissioned as census takers.[39]

On the ground, however, the census was dogged by Taiwanese distrust toward Japanese rule from the very outset of its preparation to its completion. Indeed, one of the greatest concerns of Japanese statisticians was that Taiwanese distrust toward the colonial government could cast a shadow on the accuracy of the data. False responses from people were what the division of the census feared most, as accumulation of false data could eventually undermine the value of this costly experiment. Needless to say, distrust and hostility toward the colonial government were persistent issues from the beginning of Japan's occupation of Taiwan, but in this case, in particular, military power could not cancel out the effect of distrust. Iwai Tatsumi, one of the directors of the census project gave a speech at a meeting with police officers:

> As I briefly touched on [concerning a possibility that people intentionally misrepresent themselves], such things happen if a census taker shows an arrogant attitude, thoughtlessly acts in a manner in which Japanese always act against natives (土人), and offend their feelings. If we do these things, as the result, it is possible

[38] Mizuzhima Shichisaburo, "Rinji Taiwan kokochosa to teikoku kokusei chosa [the special household survey and imperial census]" in *Taiwan tokeikyokai zasshi* [Journal of Taiwan Statistical Association] (Taipei: Statistical association of Taiwan, 1910), Vol. 54, 33.
[39] Mizushima, "Rinji Taiwan kokochosa to teikoku kokusei chosa," 35.

> that people won't say what we want them to say and give us false answers. Therefore, as census takers, we have to take a proper attitude and avoid offending their feelings.[40]

Distrust could quietly undermine the correctness of the expensive survey, and there was no way to measure how much data was distorted. In other words, this was a new kind of concern for colonial officers. Thus, one of their primary concerns was to eradicate various rumors about the census, and, therefore, the division of the census in the colonial government did not forget to add a sentence concerning penalties for false answers on the census questionnaire.[41]

Nevertheless, despite the efforts by the division of the census and policemen to wipe out public distrust concerning the census, it could not help but upset a certain number of people. One of the most common rumors among the Taiwanese concerned the possibility of losing the right of residence. According to this rumor, people's right of residence would be terminated if they failed to be checked at their legally official address. As a result, many census reports from different areas contained mentions of migrant laborers who hurried to their hometowns or heads of families who hid their children because they feared that the data might be used for forcible recruitment of labor forces or soldiers by the colonial government. Thus, the Taiwanese people's distrust toward the colonial government was a significant factor in shaping the 1905 census, and statisticians who planned the census had to respond to it throughout the entire process.

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[40] Iwai Tatsumi, "Keimukacho kaigi ni okeru enzetsu [Speech at the meeting of police affair's office] in *Taiwan tokeikyokai zasshi*, vol.12, (August, 1905), 6.
[41] Iwai, "Keimukacho kaigi ni okeru enzetsu," 8.

One such effort was to change the name of the census. Japanese statisticians had already translated the word "census" to "*kokusei chosa* (国勢調査, survey of national strength)," and this term had been well-circulated in Japan. However, in Taiwan, "*koko chosa* (戸口調査, household survey)" was chosen, and the official name of the 1905 census in Taiwan became *Rinji Taiwan koko chosa* (the Taiwan special household survey). Why did the colonial government choose to use "*koko chosa*" in Taiwan, instead of "*kokusei chosa*"? :

> We use the household survey (*koko chosa*) for the census this time, but regarding the content of the survey, this is absolutely a census. We are afraid, however, that if we use the word "census" (*kokusei chosa*), there might be some islanders (Taiwanese, *honto-jin*) who spread rumors and interrupt the implementation of the survey by making a wrong assumption because islanders are always deeply suspicious and the new word is too much for them. In fact rumors are already circulating. We expected this, of course, and we don't care about the name of the survey if we can get accurate data. Hence, we thought it better to choose a word familiar to them. This term "the household survey" had already been officially announced and the rules were issued. But, let me repeat, what we have to conduct is a census. [42]

The term "*koko chosa*" came from a survey routinely conducted prior to the census as part of the regular duties of policemen during colonial rule. The colonial government presented the new census as a "special" version of *koko chosa*. An official instruction issued in 1903 established the basic procedure for the regular household survey, clearly indicating that it was nothing other than the practice of police surveillance over the people's everyday lives:

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[42] Iwai, ", "Keimukacho kaigi ni okeru enzetsu," 6.

> Article 1: The purpose of the survey is to check current residents, their occupations and their ins and outs in each household as well as their conduct and livelihoods.
>
> Article 2: The survey is conducted by police officers and assistant police officers on outside duty, and their assigned district is determined by…police staff regulations.
>
> Article 3: The survey is divided into three categories, a) government officials, public servants, and residents who have certain property and common sense and whose conduct is orderly, b) residents who do not belong to category a, and c) convicts…, residents who requires monitoring, and other residents to whom police should pay attention. Police visit category-a residents once in six months, category-b once in three months, and category-c, more than once a month.[43]

According to these terms, in the regular household survey, residents were divided into three groups based on each individual's potential risk to the social order. An official announcement for the 1905 census stressed that the special household survey (the census) and the regular household survey (police surveillance of residents) were almost identical, and differed only in their purposes, and this was truly so in practice. According to the announcement, the census aimed at revealing "the outcome of the strength of the state and people's minds, and by doing so the census unveils the degree of civilization, seeks the improvement of industry, and finding a good balance between various public advantages and disadvantages."[44] In this way, the practice of police surveillance showed a direct relation to the concept of *Polizei*.

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[43] *Tokeishush*i, 203 and 290.

[44] *Rinji Taiwan koko chosa tenmatsu* [The result of the Census in Taiwan](The colonial government of Taiwan, unknown binding, 1906), 33.

In fact, one of the characteristics of the colonial census was data-sharing between the census and police surveillance of residents' lives. Compared to the first census conducted in Japan, in 1920, in which people were asked only eight questions, the colonial census in Taiwan had a somewhat longer questionnaire:

> In addition to the individual's name: 1) Status in the household, 2) sex, 3) age, 4) marital status, 5) occupation, 6) mental or physical disability, 7) vaccination for smallpox, 8) language, 9) tribe (Taiwanese only), 10) use of opium (Taiwanese only), 11) foot-binding (Taiwanese women only), 12) legal domicile (Japanese only), 13) place of birth (Japanese only), 14) date of arrival in Taiwan (Japanese only), and 15) nationality (foreigners only).[45]

The mode of conducting the census was also peculiar to Taiwan. In order to collect census data, the census questionnaire was incorporated into the regular household survey, and police officers began taking data before the 1905 census began. In other words, the regular household survey was extended, and now covered a wider range of information about each individual. Among the fifteen questions above, nine were originally included in the regular household survey. Thus, what a police officer had to do on the day of the census was to update his list of residents when he visited households in his assigned district as a census-taker. Later, Mizushina proudly recalled that this method was both unique and efficient, and that there was no comparable method in European census projects. According to him, this method was one of the main factors in the success of such a huge and

[45] *Tokeishushi*, 290.

complicated project in the colony.[46]

Questions added in the process of census-making were: the sixth, concerning mental and physical disability, the eighth, concerning language, the ninth, concerning tribe, the eleventh, concerning foot-binding, the thirteenth, concerning place of birth (only for Japanese), and the fourteenth, concerning date of arrival in Taiwan (only for Japanese). These six items were newly added in the process of census making, and, at a glance, appeared quite random.[47] Historical records do not explicitly describe what statisticians and police officers intended when they incorporated these six questions into the questionnaire. Yet, if the census is viewed as a basis for *Polizei*, these seemingly random questions show a certain consistency. To begin with, it is clear that "mental and physical disability" is directly related to estimation of the potential labor force, checking the proportion of population who could work "productively" and those who could not.

By the same token, the question of "language" matters, too, in terms of the issue of labor force in two different way; firstly, since Japanese migration from the mainland did not grow as officers had expected, communication problems had continually arisen among the majority Han Chinese, minority ethnics, and Japanese immigrants, and, secondly, language was considered to be an index for

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[46] Mizushina Shichisaburo, "Rinji koko chosa no kanryo [Completion of the special household survey]" in *Taiwan tokeikyokai zasshi*, vol.14 (Novemner, 1905), 39.

[47] *Tokusishushi*., 290. What did these additional questions in the census questionnaire imply? One possible interpretation would be the production of racial unity as an object of governance. As studies of the "Japanization" movement (皇民化運動) suggest, language, use of opium, and the foot-binding custom were major indexes for measuring the degree of integration ("Japanization") of the Taiwanese population into Japanese culture. On the topic of language education, in particular, see Komagome Takeshi, *Shokuminchi teikoku nihon no bunkatogo*[Cultural integration in Japan's colonial empire] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996).

social and cultural integration. Both issues involved the issue of language were seen as key to producing "better" labor force and, hence, higher productivity. A statistician, in fact, published an article introducing a means of measuring degrees of cultural integration through using census data to show the slow increase in Japanese speakers in Taiwan.[48] In short, this seemingly random set of questions, which, at a glance, appeared to pertain to academic—social scientific—interests, was actually more directly oriented toward "totalizing" power, aiming at long-term "improvement" of the potential labor force for higher productivity, a concern at the core of colonialism.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined Japan's first census, conducted in colonial Taiwan in 1905, which was carried out despite the cancellation of the national census in mainland Japan in the same year, and despite various unfavorable conditions—ongoing military battles, financial problems, distrust and wariness among colonized people. Governor of Taiwan Goto Shinpei, a firm believer in scientific management of the colony, certainly deserves credit for his extraordinary political leadership in realizing the historic survey, which was implemented fifteen years ahead of a national census in mainland Japan. Yet, his initiative was hardly the single factor that brought about the project in the colony. A group of Japanese statisticians enthusiastically organized a community and

[48] Nihei Sijiharu, Kokugo fukyu no chihouteki teido [Degree of the spread of Japanese speakers] in *Taiwan tokeikyokai zasshi*, vol.18 (July, 1906).

established the Taiwan Statistical Association, which provided study groups for Japanese bureaucrats and workshops for census-takers and policemen. What is more, the colonial police forces in Taiwan played crucial roles from planning to implementation.

From today's perspective, it is almost unimaginable that a census would be taken by the police force, or that census takers would share its information with the police's surveillance system. If a census were administered by police today, it would, without a doubt, appear forcible and violent, an embodiment of the oppressive power of *Politik*. In other words, by being taken out of the hands of police, the census today appears less violent and more social scientific, seemingly the opposite of oppressive power. In fact, in mainland Japan, no census after 1920 has been administered by the police force, and census takers, mostly middle-class civilians in neighborhoods, have not been asked to share their information with police.[49] This raises a set of questions: Was the collaboration between police and the census an exceptional case limited to the colony, representing a double-standard attitude between colony and metropole? Or does it represent an inherent trait in census-taking that could be discerned in the metropole, though not as explicitly as in the colony?

Traditionally, the field of colonial studies has described these cases as colonial exceptions, representing double-standards, which were ubiquitous in various social institutions produced by Japan's colonial rule. In a practical sense,

[49] Sato, *Kokuseichosa to kindai nihon,* 204-227.

as well, Taiwan's different and difficult conditions seem to substantiate such claim. As a matter of fact, considering the widespread distrust among local people toward the colonial government, with language barriers between colonizers and colonized, it might simply have been impossible to rely on civilian volunteers in each neighborhood, as would have been possible in Japan, and it might simply have been a practical idea to depend on native police forces, supervised by Japanese statisticians and colonial officials. Thus, in a narrow pragmatic sense, the prominent presence of police in Taiwan can be seen as a case of a colonial exception.

However, viewed from historical and conceptual perspectives, the police presence in the census was not simply a colonial exception. To begin with, as discussed earlier, intellectuals, like Fukuzawa Yukichi, had been investigating the function of the police in Japan, underscoring the idea of *Polizei* as power caring for individuals and society as a whole. In this sense, there had been already a tendency toward viewing and utilizing police forces as engaging in people's everyday lives since the early Meiji period. It is no wonder that, by the time of the colonial census in 1905, the police force was regarded as responsible not only for cracking down on criminals, but for managing and supervising individuals' bodies and collective lives.

Furthermore, in such processes of surveillance and management of individual bodies by administrative forces, even in mainland Japan, police forces had already been employed. A noticeable case of such conduct by the police forces

was the Japanese Household Survey, which developed and institutionalized by 1876. While, to be sure, the Household Survey and census were significantly different as we discuss below, they shared certain tendencies. First, both initially relied on a Register of Families, at the technical level, and shared somewhat similar questionnaires. In addition, both collected information, not in response to immediate needs to maintain social order or avoid the recurrence of past problems, but regularly, in a preventive manner. In doing so, such mechanisms attempted to control the uncertain future of the society as a whole and, thus, increase productivity, a function of *Polizei*. Viewed in this way, paying particular attention to functions and mechanisms, police presence in the census in Taiwan in 1905 cannot be considered a mere colonial exception.

Then, how can we talk about its implications? What was the historical meaning of this census, which showed systematic collusion with the police forces? As discussed in previous chapters, a census is not a mere practice of counting the number of people in a territory. If the number itself were the single most important concern, the colonial government could have estimated it based on the records of the traditional registration system in Taiwan, the *baojia* system. In fact, even before the implementation of the census, the colonial government had estimated and published the population in Taiwan in 1904 at 2, 965, 298, and except for a few statisticians, colonial officers did not particularly think that the population of Taiwan was unknown to them.[50]

[50] *Taiwan nichi nichi shinpo*, Meiji 38, July 26.

However, as Japanese statisticians at the turn of the century had desperately repeated, what the census could reveal was not a number, in itself, but the *composition* of the population, knowledge of which would make it possible to manage it as a whole. As Michel Foucault discusses, it is important to give careful thoughts to the meaning of managing population. Foucault emphasizes:

> The managing of a population not only concerns the collective mass of phenomena, the level of its aggregate effects, but it also implies the management of population in depths and its details. [51]

While we have first discussed important common features between the Household Survey and census, above, there was a critical difference.

As discussed, on the surface, particularly in terms of its functions and mechanisms, the Household Survey that aimed at maintaining social order and the census that aimed at knowing and managing the population appeared nearly identical. However, this chapter argues that these two projects saw their objects in a totally different light.

More precisely, these two surveys rather created completely different objects of governance. With no particular attention to the line between former convicts and ordinary citizens with no criminal records, the Household Survey by nature assumed all residents were potential criminals, and, from such a viewpoint, all residents were equal objects, only with a variety of degrees of threat to the colonial order, and, thus, all had to be checked regularly. It makes a lot of sense

[51] Foucault, "Governmentality" in J. D. Faion ed., *Power*. New York: New Press, 2000, 219.

that all questions in the survey were meant to identify individual traits.[52] On the other hand, new questions added at the time of the 1905 census suggest a different character of interest toward survey objects. The series of new questions, involving physical and mental disability, language, race and ethnicity, and presence or absence of foot-binding, were not involved with security concerns, but more related to potential capabilities of the population.

What the census sought was, thus, not to find potential criminals, but to grasp statistically processible individualities and society as a whole, composed of such individualities—namely, population. Governor Goto Shinpei clearly understood the importance of the concept of population: "The economic value of population derives from the fact that we can defeat the power of nature by developing human power."[53] For Goto, residents of Taiwan and their collective lives needed to be both visible and intelligible in terms of a statistically understood concept of "population," which, eventually, enabled him to think about human collective life as a source for potential labor forces that would strengthen agricultural and industrial productivity. The census made productive forces visible and measurable, and this made it possible to nurture and strengthen them. In short, if the Household Survey viewed individuals as potential criminals, the census saw them as *resources* for productivity, opening the road to the new way of governance in managing and engineering such resources efficiently and desirably.

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[52] Eguchi Keitaro, "Genju kokochosa to Keisatsu no Koko chosa bo [Special household survey and the police record of household survey] in *Taiwan tokeikyokai zasshi,* vol. 12, (August, 1905), 75-58.

[53] Goto Shinpei*, Kokka eisei genri*, 158.

As explored in previous chapters, this new theory of the state had been developing since the early Meiji period, with a notable shift in its ultimate goals and responsibility. The state was now viewed as taking initiatives in molding people's collective lives through actively exerting influence on their customs, ways of living, and consciousness toward the body and its surroundings, namely, "hygiene." Thus, Goto firmly grasped this new mode of governance when he pointed out that the ultimate goal of sovereignty should be to achieve an "organic harmony," making a distinction between civilized and savage in terms of those who could reach such a stage by themselves, and those who could not do so due to their old customs and habits. Nonetheless, Goto was cautious enough not to attempt to eradicate such long-lasted cultural practices all at once by force. Rather, he believed it important to remove such customs step by step through the people's consent, guiding them to a "better" life. The census, an investigation of the potentiality of the population, would provide an in-depth analysis of the hidden nature of the population, and such an understanding made it possible, Goto believed, to nurture and guide its inherent and potential capabilities.

In conclusion, what the 1905 census in colonial Taiwan revealed is the emergence and materialization of the concept of population as an object of development and of policy. Now local people in Taiwan became the "colonial population," an object for improvement, betterment, and development. What is more interesting, this creation of the colonial population was not limited to the "colony," but emerged and became the predominant view in the metropole, as

well, such as in Japan in the 1930s.

Chapter 4:

The Concept of Human Resources and the Creation of the "Functional Man"

Control without controlling: That is what Okochi Kazuo aimed at when the idea of a controlled economy became wide spread among Japanese intellectuals and political elites in the late 1930s.[1] After war broke out in China in 1937—or, arguably even before—influential politicians and intellectuals sought a total reorganization of the Japanese political and economic system. In addition to the war demanding for a sudden increase in material production, the rapid industrialization and urbanization since the Meiji period had caused "social problems," including poverty in the cities and labor disputes, which eventually led intellectuals to consider the need for a radical change. Although historians have a variety of views regarding how the search for a new order began and develop,[2] they basically agree that hopes for controlling society, politics, and the economy already existed at the end of the 1920s, at the time when young social scientist

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[1] Okochi Kazuo, "The End of Economic Man" in *Smith to List* [Adam Smith and Friedrich List] (Tokyo: Nihon hyoron sha, 1943). Originally published in 1942.

[2] Miles Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982). *Total War and 'Modernization*,' edited by Yamanouchi Yasushi and J. Victor Koschmann (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998). Yanagisawa Osamu, *Senzen senji nihon no keizaisiso to nachizumu* [Nazism and economic thought in prewar and wartime Japan]. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2008). Makino Kuniaki, *Senjika no keizaigakusha* [Economists under the War] (Tokyo: Chuo koron sha, 2010).

Okochi Kazuo began his academic career in the field of social policy.

After the Great Depression in 1929, in particular, the "controlled economy" was an attractive yet ambiguous term at the time, through which politicians, business leaders, and intellectuals could express different visions for the future of the country. Economic historian Yanagisawa Osamu, for instance, pointed out two main streams of thought in the 1930s for envisioning a controlled economy.[3] First, social scientists such as Mori Takeo and Arisawa Hiromi, who were searching for ways to recover from the recession, hoped for certain economic interventions by the state under the situation when the war developed in China. They believed that state intervention was anomaly and temporary, and, thus, it should end when the war was over.

On the other hand, economists such as Okochi, Honniden Yoshio, Taniguchi Yoshihiko associated the controlled economy with the natural development of capitalism. According to them, social problems were a sign of the decline of the liberal economy, and their mission was to create a new economic regime by taking advantage of the increase in state power during wartime. In clear contrast to Mori and Arisawa's view, this group of scholars believed that changes in the political system needed to be permanent. Okochi affirmed this view by saying that "what is rational realizes itself in wartime," and saw a great opportunity to modernize Japan's social policies.[4] In this way, discussions of the controlled economy took

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[3] Yanagisawa, *Senzen senji nihon no keizaisiso to nachizumu,* 6-9.

[4] Okochi Kazuo, Shakai seisakuno kihon mondai [Fundamental problems in social policy], (Tokyo: Nihon hyoron sha, 1944) 18.

various versions of interventionists and anti-liberalism forms in the late 1930s and early 1940s, even though these social scientists differed in their views about the nature of state interventionism.

Focusing on such critiques of economic liberalism in the wartime, this chapter analyzes the concept of liberalism and freedom in wartime Japan. In particular, through an examination of the works of social policy expert Okochi Kazuo, the chapter looks into how the context of the war transformed and reshaped liberalism and the idea of freedom, and how social science participated in this process. It is tempting to assume that Japan in wartime was less "liberal" than in the Taisho period, a time when many intellectuals were devoted to developing and elaborating the idea of liberal democracy. Indeed, the common narrative concerning the history of liberalism in Japan has described that liberal democracy developed in the Taisho period gradually faded out, and that a dark time of political suppression followed with the increase in state regulations that reached every corner of people's lives. However, this chapter does not take an approach that assumes freedom to be a quantitative or measurable concept. Instead of analyzing various limitations and restrictions imposed by the wartime regime, this chapter discusses what kind of freedom was discursively created and associated with regime.

The Concept of *Jinkaku* and Social Policy

Okochi Kazuo brought about a theoretical shift in the field of social policy, by making it more "rational" and "scientific." This also serve as a challenge to the old conception of social policy, which had developed around the concept of *jinkaku* (人格) during the late Meiji period. Okochi Kazuo's academic career began with an encounter in 1929 with Kawai Eijiro, an outstanding scholar in the field of social policy. Although Okochi went in a different direction in his own study of social policy—or, perhaps, because of his choice of this decision—he maintained an intense relationship with his mentor.[5]

Even in an article that Okochi wrote during a very early stage of his career, it was clear that Okochi did not directly follow Kawai's views on social policy, which Kawai himself called "idealism" (理想主義). Kawai was a powerful bureaucrat in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, who sought a career in academe and became a professor in the department of economics at Tokyo Imperial University in 1920. Influenced by British liberalism, and Thomas Hill Green in particular, Kawai came to be well-known for his "liberal" approach to social policy. Okochi, on the other hand, was more interested in Marxism and sought a different direction. Okochi, eventually became a professor of social policy at Tokyo Imperial University and active member of the Showa Research Association, formed his own theory by challenging the very idea that was at the center of Kawai's theory, namely, *jinkaku*.

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[5] Yamonouchi Yasushi, "Senjiki no isan to sono ryogisei [Wartime legacy and its ambiguity]" in *Shakai kagaku no hoho* [Methodology of social science](Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993), 141-143.

The word *jinkaku* had a wide range of meanings and was often used to signify character, personality, individuality, spirituality, human dignity, and so forth. It was particularly valued in so-called Taisho liberalism, and provided a theoretical foundation not only for the social sciences but also for the humanities. Fon instance, in the field of legal studies, specialists in criminal law such as Ogawa Shigejiro began looking into the *jinkaku* of criminals. Such specialists believed that they had to examine not only the criminal act, itself, but criminals' growth records, work habits, and propensities.[6] Another example, and which was more directly related to social policy, was the so-called district commissioner system introduced around the same time. Under this system, district commissioners, who were usually volunteers from the upper middle class, visited the poor in their areas. Commissioners were supposed to provide moral guidance to the poor and the socially unfit, teaching them how to organize their everyday lives and how to gain discipline in order to become better workers and, ultimately, to eliminate their inclination toward life on state welfare.[7] For both cases above, the concept of *jinkaku*, as well as other psychological, mental, and spiritual aspects, played an important role. *Jinkaku* enabled social scientists at that time to personify social problems. Instead of analyzing poverty as a series of social problems derived from capitalism, they could focus on individuals, their characteristics, and their individual efforts to overcome "personal" hardships, as in the case of district

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[6] Seizawa Kazuya, *Ho kara kaiho sareru kenryoku* [Power liberated from the law] (Tokyo: Shinoyo sha, 2001), 59.
[7] Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1997, 52-53.

commissioner system.

Okochi denounced such social policy that had developed around the idea of *jinkaku* as unscientific and irrational:

> To transcend the pious moralism that presently dominates social work and to rationally restructure it on the basis of materiality--that is the task that confronts us in the social welfare field. By tirelessly urging social work in that direction so as to refashion its salvational tendencies and neglect of economic logic into something more productive, we should be able to augment social policy from its periphery and improve its outlook for the future.[8]

Okochi insisted that any effort to provide and preserve individuals' spirituality and to guide individuals' lives that did not fit with liberal economy could never succeed, because such an effort would be external to the current economic system. Instead, he argued for the necessity of moving into to a new phase of social policy by taking advantage of what the war demanded of the society.

The Concept of "Human Resources" (*Jinteki shigen*)

Historical documents from wartime reveal that the political regime, and, in particular, the movement for a new order, required new concepts for naming the new social order and the national community, both of which were specifically designed to mobilize all kinds of resources in Japan's territories. Already familiar terms from the Meiji and Taisho periods, such as *minzoku* (ethnicity), *kokumin* (nation), and *kokutai* (national body) now became topics of this new investigation. By redefining these concepts, intellectuals sought to describe or, more precisely,

[8] Okochi, *Shakai seisaku no kihon mondai*, 457. This part is originally written in 1938.

to *create* a new sense of national community that would enable mobilization for the ongoing war and beyond.

In addition to these concepts that concerned the spiritual and emotional ties among people in Japan's territories, social scientists produced new terminology that allowed them to discuss, in a more "scientific" manner, the collective representation of the people. For example, the notion of *taii* (体位, physique) refers to the collective body of a people, especially the young men who are to be its soldiers, and usually takes the form of surprisingly unsophisticated statistical observations of data taken from physical examinations for conscription.[9] The Army Surgeon General of the Imperial Japanese Army, Koizumi Chikahiko, pointed out that an increasing number of young men were failing the examination for conscription, and he emphasized that the physiques of Japanese men were deteriorating. In his appeal for the establishment of the Ministry of Hygiene, he declared that countermeasures for the decline of the Japanese "physique" must be the "most fundamental issue for current political renovation."[10] Indeed, discussions of "physique" were wrongly yet highly persuasive, and, despite its scientifically problematic nature, "physique" became a part of the foundational rationality of the wartime institutions, for which Okochi is also often cited.[11]

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[9] Takaoka Hiroyuki, *Soryokusen taisei to fukushi kokka* [Total war regime and welfare state], (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2011) 22-44.
[10] Takaoka, *Soryokusen taisei to fukushi kokka,* 26.
[11] Okochi Kazuo, *Senji shakai seisaku ron* [Theory of wartime social policy] (Tokyo: Jicho sha, 1940), 349, 354-355, and 379.

An object of study such as "physique" is ultimately, in its essence, a statistical artifact and a social scientific construct. However, this abstract idea became one of the major themes that were necessary to discuss the materiality of the human body and productive force. Tosaka Jun, for example, observed the popularity of this concept:

> A new word such as *taii* [physique] is not synonymous with a common word, such as health. It is nothing but an interpretation of the people's physical happiness as an expression of the nation's militant productivity (?). We can see change or advancement from the angle through which we look at a thing.[12]

Tosaka rightly pointed out that the extremely ambiguous, and, therefore, quite arbitrary nature of this concept. Needless to say, there was a gap between the bodies of workers and their labor force.

Human resources (人的資源, *jinteki sigen*) is another notion produced in wartime in order to name an aspect of the collective force of human beings, namely, the labor force at its material level. Minoguchi Tokijiro was a fervent advocate of this concept, and Okochi Kazuo also often referred to it in his reconceptualization of the concept of productivity. Minoguchi explains:

> The Japanese made a great new discovery through the war in China. That is, we newly discovered the fact that humans are resources. The discovery of human resources signifies a Copernican change in terms of value judgments about humanity.[13]

In fact, there were various versions of human resources theory in the late 1930s

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[12] Tosaka Jun, "Kyokoku icchi taisei to kokumin seikatsu," in *Tosaka Jun zenshu*, volume 5, (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 1972), 199. Originally published in 1937. The question mark appears in the original text.

[13] Minoguchi Tokijiro, *Jinteki shigen ron* [Theory of human resource], (Tokyo: Hachigen sha, 1940) 14.

and early 1940s; the Japanese army, for example, had its own version, which emphasized the importance of human resources from the viewpoint of national security.[14] Nevertheless, for reasons of space, this essay focuses on Okochi Kazuo's adoption of the concept, which was for most part, derived from Minoguchi.

Materiality and Human Resources

Okochi placed this concept of human resources at the center of his re-theorization of social policy in wartime. Interestingly, when introducing the concept of human resources, Okochi was always somewhat apologetic. As he himself explained, the idea of human resources was criticized because of its "inhuman" understanding of people and its "materialization" of the human labor force.[15]

Furthermore, for Okochi, this re-theorization of humanity meant a direct challenge to the social policy theory of his teacher, Kawai Eijiro. Once he incorporated the idea of human resources into his theory, he did not hesitate to openly criticize the idea of *jinkaku*:

> If the spirit of respecting a human being as *jinkakusha* [人格者, person who possesses *jinkaku*] includes ignorance toward human existence as a labor force, then, that very attitude itself misses the proper path to human liberation in capitalist society and prevents us from achieving it.[16]

[14] Okochi, *Senji shakai seisaku ron*, 329-330. This part is originally published in 1938.
[15] Okochi, *Senji shakai seisaku ron*, 328 and 333.
[16] Okochi, *Senji shakai seisaku ron*, 341.

For Okochi, it simply reinforced an irrational spiritualism that tended to lead to an irrational exploitation of the labor force, because the logic of *jinkaku* could not deal with workers' most basic—namely, material—needs such as rest and food. Thus, he insisted that it was particularly important in wartime to regard people as a material labor force, which should be properly protected through social policy so that the war could be won. Okochi felt that advocating for the idea of human resources signified that he was contesting what his teacher Kawai Eijiro had constructed. At the same time, however, Okochi seemed to believe that doing so was an ethically proper choice that enabled him to think about ways to protect workers in wartime, particularly when social welfare was seen as an unnecessary luxury.[17] Okochi's emphasis on the materiality of the labor force opened new approaches to social policy that could protect the labor force from exploitation based on an irrational spiritualism, which was committed to a view of workers as able to work beyond their physical limits.

Needless to say, Okochi could not entirely separate this "materialist" approach to the labor force from its immaterial level. The moment he argued for the importance of looking at the materiality of the labor force, rather than at the workers themselves, Okochi immediately re-introduced the image of workers; that is, he personified the labor force as a possessor of labor force, which was itself responsible for the material bodies of the workers. Furthermore, Okochi insisted that the *jinkaku* of workers must be disciplined and cultivated:

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[17] Okochi, *Senji shakai seisaku ron*, 372.

> The new economic ethics is the ethics of the producers at each producer's "site" of production, and its purpose is the cultivation of characteristics as the manifestation of his/her own personality as a producer.[18]

In their understanding of his scholarship, social scientists and historians of wartime Japan have followed Okochi's self-explanation, and have interpreted this theoretical turn to materiality in the foundation of social policy as an *opposition to* or a *shift from* the social policy of *jinkaku*. For example, Takabatake Michitoshi, who analyzed Okochi's work through the framework of "conversion" (転向, *tenko*) from Marxism, saw this turn as Okochi's compromise with the present situation, or more precisely, as a deliberate move to support the wartime socio-political regime:

> He [Okochi] compares this logic at the center of his series of arguments [the logic of *jinkaku*] with the spiritual climate of Japanese society; such comparisons have great importance for intellectual history. As is commonly known, what permeated the ideology of Japanese fascism was "humanism," which warmly respected human dignity; "spiritualism," which valued the traditional Yamato-spirit; and "conformity," which was antipathetic to the cold structure [of the society]. In opposition to these tendencies, he [Okochi] consistently insisted that the [only] way to preserve human dignity was to treat people rationally, not as "humans" but as "things" and "resources." [19]

Historian of social policy Tomie Naoko also argues:

> Presumably, we can understand Okochi's theory of public welfare as an argument that envisions an institution that guarantees the "security of the stomach" without violating the spiritual freedom of those on welfare.[20]

Tomie basically praises Okochi's adoption of the idea of human resources and his

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[18] Okochi, *Smith to List*, 378.

[19] Takabatake Michitoshi, "Okochi Kazuo: Seisanryoku riron" in *Kyodo kenkyu Tenko* (Tokyo: Shiso no kagaku sha, 1960) 226.

[20] Tomie Naoko, *Kyuhin no nakano nihon kindai* [Modern Japan in poor relief], (Kyoto: Mineruba shobo, 2007) 166.

focus on the material dimension of the labor force because, according to Tomie, Okochi successfully dissociated the issue of citizenship (Japanese-ness) from that of the protection of the labor force. She sees in this the possibility that the workers' right to live could be secured regardless of their nationality. Indeed, Okochi's theoretical shift enabled him to argue for reducing working hours and for more "human life" for all workers, even in the midst of labor force scarcity. In addition, Takabatake's quotation above also appears to agree with Tomie's assessment.

However, even though Okochi constructed his theory with an emphasis on the materiality of the labor force, he could not and did not avoid the personification of such materiality, since the existence of materiality, namely, that of workers' bodies, does not guarantee that such bodies always agree to be a material resource to support the war as a national project. He needed to rely on something like *jinkaku* to mobilize the labor force for warfare.

Thus, a question arises. Does Okochi's re-personification of the labor force represent an unfortunate theoretical slippage that had something to do with the ongoing war; meaning that once the war was over and peacetime began, would his theory of social policy suggest fair treatment of the labor force regardless of who constituted it? Did his theory really open ways in which state power would never interfere with workers' spiritual freedom, but would willingly protect and nurture their productivity?

In Okochi's theory, the introduction of the material dimension of the labor

force does not really let go of the spiritual level. Instead, the discursively constructed material level articulates what individual workers are responsible for. Certainly, through the discursive practice of social policy, Okochi created an undetermined materiality of the labor force, which seemingly makes some kind of freedom possible. However, this very freedom is the space for subjectification in which the possessor of a body becomes a worker.

Despite Okochi's own belief that he created his theory in opposition to the paternalist concept of *jinkaku* and despite historians's common views that described Okochi's theory as opposed to older social policies that were based on the spiritual mobilization of workers, it probably makes more sense to see continuities between the two kinds of theory. That is, Okochi's theory of social policy does not signify a departure from the concept of *jinkaku* but rather its reinforcement. Okochi's "materialist" attitude toward the labor force is, indeed, the further articulation of Taisho liberalism.

From Citizens to Producers

Even when Okochi tried to take distance from the concept of personality, and to construct a theory of social policy aimed at human resources as a representation of collective human life, it was impossible for him to escape from the notion of the individual, because the actual implementation of policy relied upon how individual workers and their employers react on it. Therefore, one has to manage human resources via individuals. At this point, the politics of the

population and individuals as its component, which has been discussed in previous chapters, comes into Okochi's theorization of human resources.

> The new subject of economic life is…not an instinctual "economic man" but rather a rational human being; in other words, a person of intelligence who has the knowledge and insight necessary to grasp the objective facts of wartime economic controls, and who has an active, spontaneous desire to size up the situation and determine what kind of economic activity is required. In sum, if the Smith-type, instinctual "economic man" was led by God's "unseen hand" and was able to contribute to the material welfare of society only unconsciously, via the moment of free competition, what we have here is a rational producer, aware of his social vocation, who is subjectively conscious of the inner connection between individual economic activity and the totality of the controlled order.[21]

Okochi calls this figure "functional man." He proposed this idea based on his critique of Adam Smith's "economic man."[22] As opposed to "economic man," Okochi's functional man recognizes himself as an "element of productivity," who undertakes his actual "place" of duty. Okochi calls this the ethics of the functional man.[23] He emphasizes that "functional man" is not merely a heuristic device for understanding economic phenomena, but is an actual individual who accepts his function as a condition of his life and his moral ground. While Okochi often denounces Smith's "economic man" as a mere explanatory apparatus or an abstraction from reality, Okochi actually learned from Smith that the theoretical figure in economic life does not remain in the economic sphere but can represent an ethics for human life in general.[24]

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[21] Okochi Kazuo, "Keizaijin no shuen [End of Economic Man] in *Okochi Kazuo chosakushu* vol. 3 (Tokyo: Seirin sinsha, 1969) 421-422.
[22] Okochi, *Smith to List* , 414.
[23] Okochi, "Tenkanki no keizai shiso," 391.
[24] Okochi, *Smith to List*, 228-229.

Smith assumes that when both producers and consumers pursue their own profit, the true nature of the market appears, and the government no longer needs to intervene in and adjust economic activities. "Economic man" is the model of such an individual who behaves based on his own profit. In order to organize human society in the most rational and efficient manner, "free competition" is necessary for "economic man's" selfishness to fully unfold.

Okochi insists that such an "economic man" is not merely a model or an abstract figure that is confined to economic life because even in the domains of religion and education, if "free competition is given and monopoly is eliminated, the selfishness of "economic man" could "promote the optimum effectiveness of such social institutions.[25] Thus, if such a model of economic man has validity, Okochi continues:

> It means that Smith's economic man becomes an ideal type of human being, not only within a simple and narrow [definition of] human life but in the mental life of the human being in general. Therefore, there is no difference between the social effect derived from the behavioral principle of "economic man" and that from the private activities of "economic man" within economic life or in other domains of life—for instance in education, religion, or judiciary.[26]

In this way, Okochi argues against scholars, including German philosopher Hans Vaihinger, who consider the concept of "economic man" simply as a theoretical fiction. Okochi thinks that if a model with a specific mode of thinking and a specific behavioral principle (in this case, economic man who acts based on selfishness) is useful for explaining economic phenomena, then such a model indicates a "specific

[25] Okochi, *Smith to List*, 188.
[26] Okochi, *Smith to List*, 189.

feature that is meaningful for understanding the essence of human beings in general" within a specific historical context. According to Okochi, such a model is not an abstraction or an isolation, but is crafted out of real economic life (mercantile society, in Smith's case) in relation to "dominant principles in thinking and acting." If this is so, then, when Okochi criticizes "economic man" and suggests "functional man" instead, the same logic must be at work. In other words, "functional man" also comes from real economic life (the controlled economy, in Okochi's case), and, as an element within the pool of human resources, it is formed on the basis of the economy's "dominant principles in thinking and acting." Indeed, Okochi stresses that "functional man" should emerge from within economic life:

> One has to seek a new economic ethics within the economy. Remaining inside [of the economy], it must create a new economic order and become a subjective condition—not to correct a conventional order based on some transcendental principle but—to develop its rationality.[27]

"Functional man" has an economic existence; first and foremost, he finds himself within the economy. Considering the historical context in which Okochi was writing, "functional man" finds himself within the controlled economy and spontaneously seeks his function in order to develop the fundamental rationality of such an economic regime, which is to protect and nurture human resources as the source of productivity. In this conception of human resources, it is possible to see the recurrence of the same theme that previous chapters have examined, namely, population and the expansion of its capability via individuals.

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[27] Okochi, "Tenkanki no keizaishiso," 390.

The crucial point is that the focal point of governance lies not in each individual but in its collective life, namely, human resources or population. This is what Michel Foucault emphasizes when he discusses the rise of the modern mode of governance.[28] Furthermore, as in the case of the construction of hygiene, the individual as a component of the population is statistically constructed in the case of human resources, as well:

> In order to rationally continue humanistic life as a bearer of productivity, we have to know how much clothing, what kinds, and how many personal items are necessary per household, for the whole family. Given that the entire family is mobilized for labor, if we know the composition of the family in terms of its ages and sexes, and which occupations and types of labor they do, it is possible to calculate the objective size of their necessities. [29]

Certainly, this standardization of life appears as typical in a controlled economy. However, Okochi does not think that way; he rather finds, or more precisely *creates*, freedom in this moment. [30] "Functional man" is actually expected to be "a rational producer, aware of his social vocation, who is subjectively conscious of the inner connection between individual economic activity and the totality of the controlled order." Given this responsibility for the current economic regime, he—the "functional man"—receives the freedom to manage his human resources at his own discretion. Nevertheless, if he fails, such care will be forcibly undertaken by the state in the name of "the whole." In an article titled "On a Job Change," Okochi

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[28] Foucault, "Governmentality."

[29] Okochi, "Kokuminseikatsu no riron," 381.

[30] J. Victor Koschmann, "Total War and Subjectivity: 'Economic Ethics' as a Trajectory toward Postwar," in *The Politics of Culture: Around the Work of Naoki Sakai* (New York: Routledge, 2010). Koschmann points out the liberal tendency in this thought. "despite its fascist overtones, their project begins to emerge as an attempt to develop (and in some ways "distort") liberal thought rather than reject it outright."

discusses how to distribute the labor force more efficiently and states his dissatisfaction regarding the slow integration and abolition of small and medium-sized businesses:

> In any case, it is very clear that the problem of changing a job does not derived from the temporary disorder that is caused by the reorganization of the peacetime economy into a wartime economy Therefore, it is also clear that we should not take any measures to prevent people from leaving their jobs. Needless to say, it is not desirable to have more people leave their jobs for nothing, but we also have to consider that these can be lighthearted "maintaining and nurturing" attempts for small and medium business. *The immediate issue is that we not only urge people to change jobs, but we deliberately force them to leave their jobs.* By taking the viewpoint of the entire country and with respect to the reorganization of labor force, if we have to mobilize people who need to change their jobs, we should not wait for their "self-recovery" and restructuring; rather we must force them to do so, based on strict planning for the national economy.[31]

This is not merely the option to be taken when an attempt to care for population fails; rather, this is the "ideal" attitude for a guardian of the population. When Okochi prohibited an ethics external to the economy, he confined individuals to the logic of population. In the 1930s and 1940s, he did not need to stress the existence of ubiquitous competitions in the human world because Japan was in the middle of war. The threat had already materialized and existed in front of people, and, therefore, the logic of the population might have sounded truer.

Conclusion

As Yamanouchi and Koschmann suggest, Okochi and other intellectuals who participated in the Showa Research Association could repeat nearly the same

[31] Okochi, "Tengyo ron" in *Okochi Kazuo chosakushu* vol. 5, 375.

arguments they had made in wartime. In the middle of material scarcity, the logic of population might have shown more urgency. In the late 1950s, the theory of human capital arrived in Japan through economists Gary Becker, Jacob Mincer, and T. W. Shultz, and the difference in people's skills and productivity came to be attributed to their "investment."[32]

The image of "functional man" might have been faded but his ethics seems to have remained. The imperative for Okochi's "functional man was, ultimately, risk management concerning himself and the population to which he belongs. The development and sophistication of statistics, with its various numerical indexes for health, tell him when he is having optimal nutrition, sleep, and exercise. Moreover, the risks in people's lives and health are more deeply connected, not only through the fate of the nation but through various forms of insurance businesses, diseases spread through people's mobility, and the international economic network, none of which we can talk about without statistics.

[32] Gary Becker's human capital is translated into Japanese in 1976. Akabayashi Hideo, "Jinteki shihon riron" [Theory of human capital] in *Nihon rodo zasshi*, n.621 (April 2012).

Conclusion

This study explores the history of liberal governance in modern Japan by focusing on the object of governance: population. Even though questions concerning governance might appear to be universal, governing collective human beings through the notion of population is a particularly modern phenomenon that developed through a specific historical process. In Japan, in the early-modern period during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people's day-to-day world was fundamentally divided by the socio-political class system, and there was no intellectual framework that imparted the authority to count and comprehend the lives of samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants as falling together under one universal category of "human life." This project explicates the ways in which an extremely abstract concept of human collectivity—population—emerged and entered socio-political discussions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and how such a notion eventually came to support Japan's total war and political regime in the 1930s.

Why does a history of the concept of population have to be written? To put it plainly, because it is still an important and influential concept in the sphere of policy-making, in business, and even in our daily lives in today's world, and will likely remain so in the future. Indeed, the politics of population today encompasses not only social, cultural, economic, and political issues—such as the idea of the poverty line and various insurance systems—as collective risk

management, but also involves concerns about obesity and high blood pressure, which are measures for examining the physical condition of an individual's body as a statistical artifact. For these diverse topics, population data make various social and economic problems visible and measurable, enabling us to create "effective" policies and to judge whether these policies are "successful" or not. Yet, the fact that population is a statistical artifact is often forgotten, since the concept of population seems, at a glance, transparent and natural. Nonetheless, population, in effect, has become the most basic object of study, in both the theoretical and the empirical social sciences, through a specific historical process; namely, the development of national censuses and complex statistical models in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Therefore, the questions that this project ultimately asks are: How has the seemingly transparent notion of population shaped the ideas and values of our lives? How does governance based on the concept of population affect the understanding of an individual's life? Viewed from the viewpoint of the history of governance in the modern era, these inquiries can be boiled down to one question: What is liberal governance? Indeed, there is a strong affinity between liberal governance and population as its object. This is because, as Fukuzawa Yukichi and his contemporary statisticians discussed, population itself cannot be manipulated directly through legal methods. In the contemporary world, no one can directly manipulate population, except perhaps in the extreme case of genocide; and the only way to control population—not only its quantity but also

its quality and movement—is through state intervention into individuals' strategies for their lives, their "free" decision-making. Thus, the politics of population presupposes a certain amount of freedom on the side of the people, and state power encourages the people to use their freedom for the benefit of the state. Therefore, the purpose of governing the population is to affect individuals' decision-making, and to minimize the gap between the "good" life of individuals and that of the population as a whole. Attempts of this kind are now called "social policy," and this project seeks the intellectual foundation of such policy, as observed in modern Japan.

More specifically, this dissertation traces the arrival and spread of the statistical understanding of collective human life. Even in the premodern period, the politics of counting existed in many forms. However, since people's living world was fundamentally divided through various forms of difference such as social status and customs, there was no room in the premodern imagination for the politics of population. It was in the 1850s, when Japan was already encountering the Western powers and was about to enter the new international order, that the knowledge of statics appeared significant, compelling Sugi Koji, the founder of statistics in Japan, to study statistical documents and surveys from Europe. Initially, statistics was adopted for such contexts as this, and considered to be useful in providing a scientific description of state power and a basis for international comparison.

Around the same time, the premodern period's regime of difference faded

away, and Japanese intellectuals willingly mobilized all kinds of knowledge that had traveled from Europe. Statistics was among these. Statistical thinking enabled intellectuals, who sought a new foundation for a national community, to assume and analyze certain countable, and thus, homogenous characteristics. The main theme of this dissertation, population and the individual as its component part, appears in this historical context. As the foundational reason behind governance moved from feudal morality to science, statistics in the Meiji period became the symbol of rational and scientific governance. In this sense it is not surprising at all that the intellectuals of the *Meirokusha* circle celebrated human desire and its potential for the construction of the modern nation; and that, at the same time, they were eager to learn statistics as a technology both for reading human collective desire and as a possible means for harnessing it.

Population and the individual, as objects of governance, became gradually more sophisticated through their contact with other forms of modern knowledge. In particular, such a development clearly appeared in Mori Rintaro's discussion concerning the concept of hygiene. When Mori proposed the image of the body of nation along with the "average man" as its component, what the emergence of the concept of population implies and what "individual as its component" signifies became clearer: population exists prior to individuals, and the individual as the average man can be no one and everyone. Thus, it is understandable that the notion of self-government within the discussion of hygiene was disproportionally limited, as compared to the popularity of liberalism at that time. As an average

man, the individual was required to know what the average was, and to improve it, if possible, at his own or his local communities' expense.

The census project in colonial Taiwan was a grand project to create the sense of a "whole" in the colony. Without the emotional resources of nationalism, this project ended up producing two different objects of governance through one survey. One of the objects was the individual bodies of people, which were treated as potential criminals. To maintain the colonial order, the survey attempted to confirm the location and physical condition of each individual body. The other object that the census produced was the people in the colony as a whole, namely, the colonial population, along with the idea of nurturing this population, so that it could develop its capabilities.

The perspective that grasped population as a resource established itself by the late 1930s, at least among the elite. During the period of the so-called "total war regime," one of the forms that the concept of population took was the form of "human resources." Social policy experts labeled the individual as "functional man," signifying him as a component of these human resources. While the discussion of hygiene had placed population prior to the individual and had articulated the individual within it, the "functional man" was expected to do take the initiative and to articulate himself. Wartime social policy and labor science provided a number of standardized forms of knowledge, including a standardized living cost, rest, nutrition, amusement, and so forth. These data contributed to the production of a new ethics in which one calculated one's own life in order to

increase and optimize one's own productivity.

The image of population, with the individual as its component, urges people to adopt freedom and responsibility concerning such calculations; and, in fact, the subject who does such a calculation is always incited to do so by the logic of competition. Such an attitude emphasizes various kinds of competition, such as the fight against epidemics, the narrative of the struggle for existence among individuals, and Social Darwinism, that are connected to the organic theory of the state. These images of competition, in turn, posit that one is unethical if one does not calculate, because this would cause risk not only to oneself but to others—to the whole. Therefore, it is not surprising that this logic, in the extreme case, justifies the elimination of others, or even of oneself, from the community.

The scope of this dissertation is limited to discussions of governance before 1945. However, the concept of population that appeared as "human resources" became much more common in the postwar period. As historians have pointed out, the wartime concept and value of productivity survived and remained mostly unquestioned during the urgent task of postwar recovery.[1] For example, Otsuka Hisao, one of postwar liberal intellectuals, wrote "The Creation of the Typology of Modern Man," and posited the necessary characteristics of modern man as "care for the whole, which derives from the suppression of selfishness."[2] This is exactly

[1] See, Nakano Toshio, *Otsuka Hisao to Maruyama Masao* (Tokyo: Seido sha, 2001); J. Victor Koschmann,"The Spirit of Capitalism as Disciplinary Regime : The Postwar Thought of Ōtsuka Hisao" in *Total War and 'Modernzation'* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1998).
[2] Otsuka Hisao, "Kindainingen ruikei no soshutsu: seijiteki shutai no minshuteki kiban no

what Okochi hoped to elaborate when he posed the theory of functional man and human resources in wartime. In postwar Japan, freedom and independence were probably considered the most respected values, but historians have asked: how could such values be separated from the wartime ethics for productivity, if individuals' freedom and independence were only conceivable in relation to the whole, namely, the population?

What then appears here is an interesting paradox. When the system of knowledge called statistics was presented to Japanese intellectuals, it suggested that the cold law of statistics was actually ruling collective human behavior. If one looks at the collective level, there was no room for human free will. Birth and death rates, crime rates, suicide rates, and so forth were a consistent reality that humans could not directly manipulate. As shown in Chapter 1, a statistician affirmed that even the human effort to break the law of statistics was already accounted for within the statistical law. Thus, Fukuzawa insisted that binding people with Confucian ethics no longer worked. In other words, the statistical population at one time provided the discourse of the uncontrollable in governance.

However, once the imagery of the individual as the component of population was established, this enabled the discussion of the freedom and the responsibility of individuals for the population. Individuals were supposed to use

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mondai [The Creation of the typology of modern man: A problem of democratic foundation for political subjectivity]" in *Gendainihon shiso taikei vol. 34: kindaishugi* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1964), 93.

such capabilities to nurture and develop the population. As discussed in Chapter 4, this set forth a new ethics for us today. Paradoxically, the discourse of the uncontrollable became the new ethics for individuals.

On the surface, the politics of population and its ethics might appear to reduce the calculable risks in human collective life, and may seem to achieve security. Nonetheless, this constitutes rule through insensitivity toward any sort of the unexpected. This is because, as Hannah Arendt astutely observes, what it describe is only deviation and fluctuation. It closes its eyes to people's incalculable and invaluable actions and emotions; in the end, it lacks the openness to see something new and unexpected.

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